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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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HERBERT TWEEDLEDUM AND EDWARD TWEEDLEDEE

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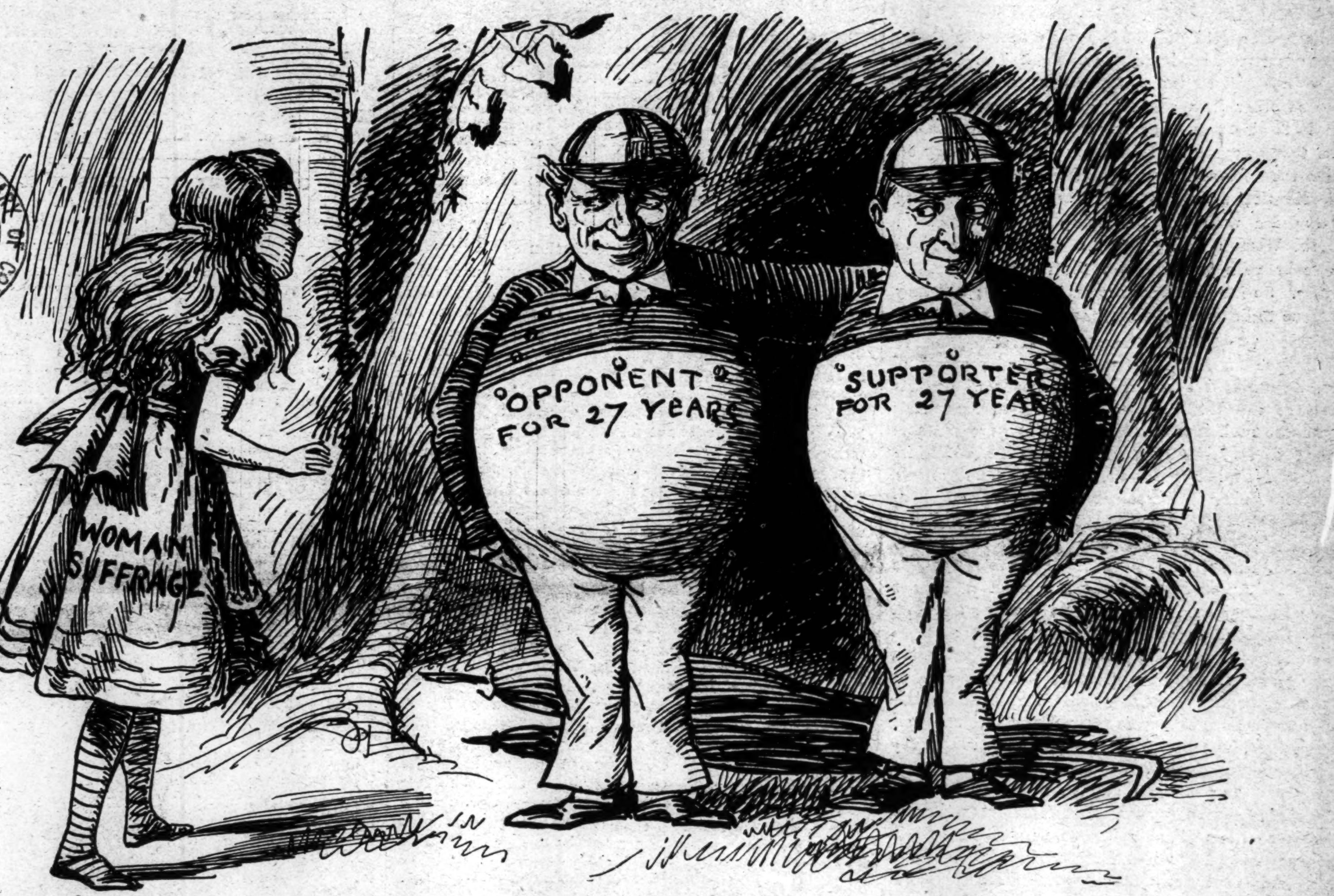

"*We must have a bit of a fight, but I don't care about going on long,*" *said Tweedledum.*
"*Contrariwise,*" *said Tweedledee,* "*we'll go on for twenty-seven years, provided we're friends all the time.*"
"*And will it be a real fight?*" *said Alice.*
"*Nohow,*" *said Tweedledum.* "*If I thought Tweedledee meant business, I shouldn't fight at all; I should run away.*"

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

As generally anticipated by Suffragists, the Dickinson Bill for conferring the franchise upon women of twenty-five years and upwards, who are either themselves householders or the wives of householders, has been defeated in the House of Commons. The division which took place on Tuesday night resulted in 221 votes being cast in favour and 267 against. The adverse majority was therefore 46.

Analysis of the Voting

An analysis of the votes cast for and against shows the majority of 267 who voted against the Bill was made up of 73 Liberals, 55 Nationalists, and 139 Unionists. The minority who voted in favour of the Bill comprised 145 Liberals, 35 Labour men, 8 Nationalists, 5 Independent Nationalists, and 28 Unionists. Of the 4 tellers, 2 were Liberals and 2 Unionists. Allowing for 24 pairs, the Speaker and the Newmarket vacancy, there were altogether 130 members of the House absent unpaired. Of these 29 were Liberals, 3 Labour men, 13 Nationalists, 3 Independent Nationalists, and 82 Unionists.

A Comparison with 1911

This analysis enables us to make a comparison with the voting for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill in 1911, i.e., before the Government had "torpedoed" that measure. There voted on that occasion for the Bill 145 Liberals, 26 Labour men, 31 Nationalists, and 53 Unionists, while only 36 Liberals, 9 Nationalists, and 43 Unionists opposed it. The difference between that occasion and this lies principally in the turnover of the votes of the Unionist and Nationalist Parties. The former is attributable to the complete change in the character of the Bill, which, instead of being of a moderate and non-party character, had been altered into a Bill to enfranchise six million women; the latter was due to the Nationalist fear that the passage of the Bill would lead to the break up of the Liberal Party. We deal with these matters more fully in our leading article.

The Debate

The actual debate was not up to the level of previous years. The House was so listless on Monday that at one time a "count out" was attempted. And though on Tuesday there was more interest, particularly when Mr. Asquith was speaking, the fact that many of the most prominent supporters of Woman Suffrage deliberately absented themselves gave to some extent an air of unreality to the proceedings and justified the view which women have all along taken of this so-called "opportunity" that it was nothing but a sham.

Mr. Asquith's Position

We give on pages 461 and 462 some interesting extracts from the debate, and draw particular attention to Mr. Asquith's own position. Though he was at pains to explain that he was only expressing his personal opinion, it must be perfectly clear that a Prime Minister cannot really divest himself of the *ex cathedra* position which the retention of his office forces upon him; and therefore his intervention in the debate at all, particularly in view of the fact that only one of his Suffrage colleagues opposed him, rendered in itself a really free vote impossible; but we would draw especial attention to the following remarkable utterance relating to the situation within the Party:—

> I have found myself at variance with a large number, perhaps with the majority, of those who ordinarily honour me in this House with their political support. I agree that I have been at variance with them, and they have treated me with the utmost consideration. If it had been suggested even in the most indirect way that they regarded this as so important and dominating an issue that they did not feel themselves justified in following a Government, the head of which was opposed to them on this particular matter, I need hardly say great as would have been my regret in severing myself from the prosecution of other great causes, I should have deferred to that opinion, and I should have entrusted to other hands the office which I hold. But they never intimated that to me.

This sentence was greeted with loud Ministerial cheers.

What It Means

This statement is, in the first place, a criticism of the Liberal Party in the past which justifies all that we have ever said of it. It means that the Party have never regarded this fundamental and essentially Liberal question of the extension of the franchise as other than an entirely subordinate matter. But it is also something more. It is an unmistakable, though carefully veiled, threat that the day on which the Liberal Party regard Woman Suffrage as a dominating issue, that day they must be prepared to dispense with the leadership of Mr. Asquith. Liberal Woman Suffragists are therefore forced to choose between principles or the retention of their Leader. So far they have chosen the latter; will they continue to do so until their party is shattered?

The W.S.P.U. Conspiracy Trial

We gave an account last week of the arrest of Mrs. Drummond and five of the heads of departments of the W.S.P.U. on a charge of conspiring to procure malicious damage; we also gave extracts from Mr. Bodkin's opening remarks, in which he threatened similar proceedings against three classes of persons, viz., (1) those who should make inflammatory speeches; (2) any future printer or publisher of the *Suffragette*; (3) any subscriber to the W.S.P.U. funds. On Thursday after we went to press Miss Annie Kenney was also arrested on her return to England from a visit to France, and Mr. E. G. Clayton, an analytical chemist, was arrested the same evening at his private house. Meanwhile, in spite of Mr. Bodkin's warning, the next number of the *Suffragette* appeared, printed by a new printing house, and next morning Mr. Drew, the manager of this firm, was arrested, the charge of conspiracy being preferred against him also.

The Hearing at Bow Street

The nine prisoners were brought up together at Bow Street on Friday afternoon, when certain evidence was given, including the production of a letter and memoranda found in Miss Kenney's flat purporting to be written by Mr. Clayton. The cases were then adjourned till Monday, bail being refused except in the cases of Mr. Drew and Miss Lennox. On Monday Mr. Bodkin formulated in his opening speech the principal charges which the prosecution intended to make; after further evidence had been given the cases were again adjourned till yesterday (Thursday), bail being allowed for Miss Barrett, Miss Lennox, and Miss Lake, but not for the other prisoners. Subsequently the case against Mr. Drew was withdrawn on his giving an undertaking not to print the *Suffragette* or any similar literature of the W.S.P.U. again.

An Improper Proceeding

We have no intention of making any comments at this stage upon the cases of the eight defendants which are still sub judice, but as to the case of Mr. Drew we are free to state our view that the action of the prosecution was distinctly improper, and the withdrawal of the case against him seems to indicate that the authorites upon reflection took a similar view themselves. As the *Manchester Guardian*, in its leading article of Monday last, very clearly points out, there is no law in this country which gives power to suppress a newspaper:—

> If a paper publishes seditious libels the Court may make an order for the seizure of all copies of the libels in possession of any persons named in the order. . . But the suppression of copies of a newspaper is a very different thing from the suppression of a newspaper. . . . To talk of suppressing a number of a newspaper before it is born is to import the doctrine of original sin into the law of criminal libel, and no Court could be got to do it. . . . The power to suppress and punish the wrong-doing of a newspaper is proper and necessary to public order and decency, but there is, we are thankful to say, no power yet to suppress the newspaper.

The *Daily News* of Tuesday took a similar line. To this we have only to add the obvious truism that what the law does not empower, Mr. Bodkin certainly could not decree by personal fiat.

Mr. McKenna Defends Mr. Bodkin

The real state of the law was accurately given by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon, when he explained that "any newspaper, whatever its name, which publishes incitements to crime, is liable to prosecution; it does not matter what the paper is or who prints it or sells it; any person who is concerned in the publication of a paper which advocates crime is liable to prosecution." But when Mr. McKenna denied that Mr. Bodkin had laid it down that any people who in future printed the *Suffragette* would be liable to criminal proceedings, and that he had only said that this would happen if the newspaper incited to crime, he seems to us to have been guilty of a perversion of the truth. Mr. Bodkin's precise words as reported in several reliable newspapers were the following:—

> Secondly, by an organ known as the "Suffragette," which has been week by week distributed broadcast and in large numbers, giving encouragement to persons who commit crimes against property. It appears week by week, and gives full approval to those who have fortunately been detected by the police. *That organ must be put a stop to as a continued danger to society in disseminating literature of that kind, and writings of that kind.* . . . If there is any printer who can be found after this worning to print and publish the literature of these women associated with the Women's Social and Political Union, he might find himself in a very awkward position as an "aider and abettor" of these persons in carrying out their objects.

And we fail to see how the words we have printed in italics can escape the interpretation which Mr. McKenna refuses to put upon them.

A Means of Intimidation

The only right course for the prosecution in the matter would have been to have charged the printer with seditious publication of the issue which he actually printed. But this charge would have had to be proved before a jury, and Mr. Drew might have been acquitted. Instead, therefore, the present course was adopted, which has had this advantage from the point of view of the Government, that they have succeeded, without obtaining a judgment, in wringing from Mr. Drew a general promise for the future to abstain from printing the *Suffragette* or any similar publication. Such a method is uncommonly like blackmail, and does no credit to those who have sanctioned its employment.

Illegal Action of the Authorities?

Apart from the method of dealing with Mr. Drew, there are other matters in the action of the authorities upon which we are entitled at this stage to comment. In the first place, the police locked up the offices of the W.S.P.U. for two and a half days before allowing the members and staff to return to possession. So far as we are aware this action is contrary to law. In the second place, it is stated that a large number of banners, including the valuable silk banners of the Union, were removed by the police and have not been restored. If this is the case it has no justification whatever. The only ground on which the police may be entitled to remove articles under such circumstances must be either that they are themselves used for illegal purposes or that they are evidence of illegality; neither of these justifications applies in the present instance.

The Battle for Free Speech

A striking demonstration in favour of the right of free speech took place on Sunday in Trafalgar Square, when Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and several other speakers addressed some 30,000 people who had come to the Square for the purpose of demonstrating their resentment against the authorities for attempting to close down Hyde Park against certain political organisations. The meeting was very enthusiastic and quite orderly till near the end, when some of the crowd, resenting the interference of the police, tried to start a meeting on the fourth side of the plinth, which had been forbidden owing to the fact that it would impede the traffic. Instead of waiting for the organisers of the meeting to deal with this piece of mistaken enthusiasm, which they were quite prepared to do, the police at once took very drastic action, and a scuffle ensued in which five men were arrested. Mr. Wedgwood, in a letter to the Home Secretary, directed his attention to the actual facts, and pointed out that the fracas was entirely caused by the presence of the police. On Monday the arrested men were all heavily fined.

In Hyde Park

While Mr. McKenna is declaring in the House of Commons that all Suffrage meetings in Hyde Park other than those of militants will be permitted and adequate protection given by the police, the authorities refused last Sunday to grant the Men's League, a non-militant organisation, a permit to bring a lorry or any platform into the park, and the police did not give the protection required under the circumstances. Meanwhile, park meetings of the Women's Freedom League have also been prohibited, and two members of the League were turned out of the park for trying to hold a meeting on Monday, and were subsequently arrested and sentenced for holding one outside. Impromptu meetings, in which the audience seemed thoroughly friendly to the speakers, were held by members of the W.S.P.U. at different parts of the park on Sunday, but three women were arrested and sentenced for trying to enter the park with purple, white, and green banners. We understand the question is likely to be discussed on the motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons.

The Case of Mr. Lansbury

An important issue will be raised in the appeal which Mr. Lansbury is prosecuting in the High Court against the decision of the magistrate to send him to prison for three months in default of giving sureties to keep the peace. The charge against Mr. Lansbury really was that of incitement. Under ordinary procedure this would be tried by judge and jury; but the prosecution claimed that it could be brought before a magistrate if they confined themselves to asking that Mr. Lansbury should be bound over—a form of undertaking which Suffragists in the past have almost invariably refused to give—and the magistrate upheld this view. On the result of the appeal will depend the practical fate of the once commonly established belief that for such an offence as incitement a man has the right to be tried by his peers and not merely by a stipendiary police magistrate, who is a salaried subordinate of the Home Secretary.

Liberal Women in Council

We direct attention to the meetings of the Women's Liberal Federation being held as we go to press, particulars of which we give on page 464.

◆

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To May 5, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	265	3	10	Mrs. Hart	0	5	0
H. D. Harben Esq.,	5	0	0	Mrs. Beedham	0	1	0
Miss E. S. Avery	0	5	0	Anon.	0	2	0
Mrs. Baker	0	2	6	Miss M. Symonds	0	1	0
Miss E. B. Payne	0	2	0	Mr. and Mrs. Hugo Ames	0	2	6
Mrs. Levy	0	2	6	Miss M. M. Thornhill	0	2	0
Miss Mary Dawes Thompson	1	5	0	Per Miss Rachel Ferguson	0	4	0
Miss M. D. Thompson (transferred subscription)	0	3	0	Miss L. Wilkinson	0	2	6
Mrs. Lovewell	0	1	0	Mrs. Bridger	0	12	6
Mrs. Wilmot	0	1	0	Lee's sale on "Votes"	0	10	0
Miss Huth	0	1	0	Mrs. Withall	0	2	6
Mrs. Craig	0	2	0	Mrs. and Miss Prean	0	2	0
Miss G. E. Chapman	0	2	6	Miss Sybil Murray	0	3	3
Miss Lawson	0	2	6	Miss Warter	0	2	6
Miss Ridler	0	2	6	Mrs Baillie Weaver	0	2	6
Per Miss Harris	0	7	6	Miss Ethel Ellison	0	1	0
Miss M. A. Wilsden	0	2	6	Total	276	3	7
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WOMEN EXHIBITORS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY

By Laurence Housman

There were times when the lady novelist, however anonymous or pseudonymous she chose to remain, was known by her fruits; they were amateurish—the product of her environment, mental and spiritual confinement. Without exceptional genius and an underlying spirit of rebellion, she could not produce sound open-air effects simply because life in the open-air was denied to her. Time has changed all that; the "lady novelist" of yesterday has become the "woman writer" of to-day, and with the "life class training" which she has wrung out of modern social conditions she takes her equal rank with man.

It is the same, or is beginning to be the same, with women painters and sculptors; to differentiate on lines of sex is becoming something of an impertinence, and would not be sound suffrage doctrine were it not that the average critic of the Press, in approaching a woman's work, still comes to it with a sort of presumption that it belongs to an inferior class and that he must either make allowances for it or snub it for its presumption. The idea that a woman may have artistic leanings but not be a real artist, that the creative faculty is only an accidental excrescence or appendix to her composition, which it is sometimes her duty to have removed by operation or crushed by grief, was nicely exemplified only a few weeks ago when a newspaper reporter approached the widow of a great explorer on her return to this country—a lady who happens also to be a modeller of fine industry and talent—and enquired what she was going to do now. The presumption was that because she had lost her husband she was to become "a weed"; her answer was, "I shall go on with my work." That to-day is the natural answer of any woman possessing energy, talent, and self-respect; the newspaper reporting it called it "heroic." This is the "tosh" which women are still up against in the Press which seeks to feed and guide public opinion. Imagine such a question addressed to a man of outstanding ability who had lost his wife—to Sir Edward Grey, for instance—or imagine any paper describing as "heroic" his reply, "I shall go on with my work." The weeping willow as an emblem of widowhood has for centuries flattered the vanity of man, but it is becoming as out-of-date as the memorial cards on which it was once portrayed. Widows, like wives and spinsters, are coming to recognise that their first duty, whatever happens, is to remain themselves; and so, although two years ago Mrs. Swynnerton lost her husband, she continues to send fine work to the Royal Academy—a strong, breezy picture of a boy on horseback, riding over a hilltop, with a big backing of sky. In technique it is rather harsh, and where the artist fails—say, for instance, in the lift of the pony's leg—she fails almost ostentatiously, without an attempt to conceal matters; here also we see once more exemplified how much better is her sense of atmosphere than her balance of composition. But she has style.

Miss Hilda Fearon has three admirable pictures of varied character, "Midsummer," a cool, deep-toned view of bathers in a green setting of meadows and trees; "Under the Cliffs," a seaside study of figures, rocks, and shore on a bright, sunlit day; and, best of all, an interior with portraits of two children seated at supper against a background of window and walls glowing with reflected light, entitled "Silver and Green." Almost next to this is a good open-air study, "The Optimist," by Miss Ursula Wood, showing the contented figure of a small child left solitary to its own devices, and in the middle distance other groups of children at play.

In the first room is a good "mirror portrait" by Miss Bertha Bunt, representing the artist at her work, and in the next are pictures by Misses Edith Kemp-Welch, Mary Donaldson, Flora Wills, Ruth Hollingsworth, and Una Hook, all showing a fair standard of quality.

It is not, however, my intention to make comment on pictures which would not otherwise call for special remark merely because they happen to be the work of women; so I pass on to exhibits which do definitely and favourably attract the eye as more interesting than their surroundings. The work of Miss Flora Reid suffers from a too great monotony both of subject and colour, and when we have seen one of her pictures we have, in a certain sense, seen all; but few who come upon her work for the first time will fail to be impressed by it. In the present exhibition she has three pieces, all fair examples of her ability, but it is inevitable and perhaps right that critics should tend to pass over in spite of its merit work which scarcely varies from year to year; one cannot in print keep saying the same thing. In Miss Hope Joseph we have a painter who is not afraid to be adventurous and to seek problems on which to test her strength; her small study of an illumined interior, "The Red Lantern," is well worth considering, and is certain to give pleasure to an eye alive to the values of light.

Mrs. Laura Knight's large canvas, "The Picnic," is so brilliant in its illumination that it seems scarcely to contain any shade. In a public gallery its fighting qualities come to the fore, it holds its own with something of a backhander to the pictures right and left of it, but in the "militancy" with which it fights for place it probably loses something of its charm, and will be better seen hereafter when it hangs alone, showing without distracting influences the glowing qualities of a key which will not then appear, as now, a little forced.

In one of the last rooms devoted to oil paintings, Mrs. Young Hunter has a good portrait of a boy, "Launcelot, son of W. Dawes, Esq.," and in Room V. Miss Annie Airy has a large and spirited group of ugly customers on the point of coming to blows in a composition called "The Gambling Club."

Among the sculptures there are very few pieces this year that stand out as possessing much originality; several women exhibitors, however, hold their own as fair equals to their fellow craftsmen, and one or two attract by the grace of their composition or their sense of breadth. Among these the statue of "Freia," by Miss Jessie Lawson, may be named, also some well-designed though rather conventional symbolical figures by Countess Feodora Gleichen, destined for the Edward VII. memorial at Windsor. In addition to the interest of its subject, there is a certain amount of distinction about Miss Gertrude Knoblauch's bronze statuette of Florence Nightingale which is to be placed in a niche in the house she so long occupied, and there is good, rugged character in the small bronze figure of her late husband in naval uniform done by Lady Scott.

This is a list of the work by women, so far as I have been able to note it, which in the present Academy deserves attention. There is, it must be remembered, a curious psychological connection between artists and the social conditions amid which they work; and no nation or race has produced great art which was not in some way a reflection of these conditions, nor has any nation under subject conditions produced great things. It is not likely, therefore, that we have yet seen our women artists, or even our women writers, at their full strength. But we are upon the way.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

Membership Cards can be had on application to the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

There is indeed a chance in days like these to show the mettle of which women are made. Throughout every section of the Suffrage Movement has been felt the bracing influence of the challenge thrown down to the Government. That challenge has been met with a steadfast and joyous courage. There has been a closing up of the rank and file of every kind of organisation for the purpose of opposing a united front to the bullying policy of the Government, and a renewed determination to redouble every effort for rallying public support in the country.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society. It is a rallying ground for all Suffragists, men and women, "militant," "spiritually militant," "tax-resisting," and "constitutional," who mean business, and put the attainment of Woman Suffrage before every party and every sectional interest.

It upholds the standard of *Political* militancy, round which every clear-visioned Suffragist foregathers, and under which every politically-minded Suffragist fights. Its main purpose and its immediate task is definitely outlined at the present moment by the events of the time.

Through the medium of this paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellows have to spread amongst the people the facts concerning the great struggle for human liberty that has been carried on for seven years. The wonderful story and the amazing record of the constitutional campaign have to be told until that story and that record have been made common knowledge. To the conscience of all honest people the truth has to be brought home that the Government itself, and the Government only, is responsible for the revolutionary acts that have alarmed the community, inasmuch as the Government by acts of trickery, fraud, and betrayal, by acts of violence, by explicit words as well as acts of incitement, have ignited and fanned the flame of revolt.

VOTES FOR WOMEN puts the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of affairs on the right shoulders. And it calls upon public opinion to save society from the menace of destruction of property, by rallying all those who believe in the justice of the cause, that they may bring irresistible pressure of every kind upon the Ministers of the Crown to remedy the evil in the only way that it can be remedied—by granting justice.

Public interest is deeply aroused. Thousands of people to-day are wanting to understand the rights of the dispute and are crying out for the truth.

VOTES FOR WOMEN is in great demand wherever it is placed on sale. Last week, in the North, copies were selling for threepence instead of a penny, because the demand was greater than the supply. Yet the Editors are prepared to print as many copies as can be disseminated either through ordinary agents or through the Fellows.

It is up to the Fellows now to extend the sale of the paper throughout the length and breadth of the country. We want hundreds of sellers *just now.* One Fellow took out copies for the first time in her life to sell in the streets last Thursday, and she sold nine dozen in less than two hours. Another told me personally that she couldn't carry away enough copies to meet the demand in the streets. On every side last week reports of this kind came in, and the circulation went up by leaps and bounds. Let us reap the harvest of interest that the recent action of the Government has so richly sown.

I appeal to-day above everything else for paper-sellers. Miss Elsie Boulting has taken over the complete organisation of this part of the Fellowship's work. Names and addresses should be sent to her immediately—with telephone number and telegraphic address also—to 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Volunteers should state:—

a. **Whether they can be called up for work at any time.**

b. **Whether they can give regular specified days or hours.**

c. **Whether they can only give occasional help.**

Thursday, Friday, and Saturday are the most important days. Hundreds of volunteers on Thursday—the day when the new paper becomes available to sellers in London—would result in increased thousands of circulation.

Since paper-selling is the service of most immediate and pressing importance, I will reserve till later many other suggestions for co-operative service that I wish to make.

Those who are not able to sell in the streets should concentrate their efforts this week in circulating and distributing by other means this most important educational issue, which has been prepared with a special view for the purposes of propaganda.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

IN HYDE PARK LAST SUNDAY

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Mirror," in which this photograph appeared on May 5)

THE BANNER OF FREE SPEECH

Under the banner of Free Speech, a great fight for freedom has been waged throughout the week. In London and in Manchester, in the House of Commons and outside it, in the Press and in the Parks, men and women have maintained their constitutional right to the public expression of their opinions. The agitation culminated last Sunday in a monster demonstration in Trafalgar Square, a meeting of some 6,000 people in Stevenson Square, Manchester, and a gallant struggle in Hyde Park on the part of the Women's Social and Political Union to vindicate their right also to constitutional methods. No one present at any of these meetings could fail to be impressed by the growing anger of the public against the coercive measures of the Government, and the growing unpopularity of the police who had to carry them out. Police intervention everywhere was the signal for instant disorder, and in one case, at least, a dangerous riot ensued. The position was wittily summed up by a woman Suffragist, who was heard to remark drily in Hyde Park (where the women held the audience every time until authority broke it up). "Notwithstanding the presence of the police, several orderly meetings have been held in Hyde Park to-day."

IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

"For the first time in many years," wrote the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* last Sunday, "there was this afternoon a serious conflict between police and public in Trafalgar Square. At the height of the row there was the painful sight of bodies of policemen in the thick of a hostile crowd laying about them with their fists and fighting desperately to clear the Square. Truncheons were not used, and no one was seriously hurt, but the whole thing was a deplorable exhibition, whoever was to blame, and to those who saw the scrimmage it seemed a very bad augury of what may happen if the present tension of feeling lasts."

This exactly describes the cause of what would otherwise have seemed an inexplicable occurrence in a practically unanimous meeting.

"The present tension of feeling." No one could deny the existence of that feeling in Trafalgar Square last Sunday afternoon. It accounted for the immense crowd, extending all over the Square and into the roadway on the Whitehall side, and up the steps of the National Gallery, and along the terrace overlooking the fountains. It accounted for the uneasiness of police inspectors and superintendents, threading their way in and out of the people, giving their orders in an undertone as they passed their men. It accounted for the quite unnecessary attacks made upon the purple, white, and green flags by constables (who seized them simply because they were purple, white, and green,—and the Government is seeing purple, white, and green just now), and for their attempt to prevent a woman, thought to be a Suffragist—she could scarcely have been anything else in that crowd—from mounting the plinth, an attempt which was frustrated by her supporters, after a struggle which must have been extremely strenuous, while attended with glory to the victorious one. And it was "the present tension of feeling" which surely brought about that collision with the police on the South side of the Square. The immediate cause of it may have been the men's insistence on their right to speak from that side of the plinth, and the refusal of the police to allow it. The real root cause sprang from the seeds of distrust and suspicion sown by the Government, which led the police to expect a row and the men to expect injustice. Anything might have set a match to the flame; so it blazed up suddenly in a meeting that was perfectly unanimous as to the object for which it had been called together.

So unanimous was it that there was very little even of the ordinary interruption that characterises an open-air crowd; and the large and orderly audience in the Square remained unaware of what was happening on the further side of the plinth until the meeting broke up. The pressure on our space is too great to permit of our giving a detailed account of the speeches, and for this we must refer our readers to Monday's morning papers, especially the *Manchester Guardian*, whose account is both full and accurate. Important points were made by Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., who described the recent prosecutions of Mr. Lansbury and others as "a contravention of the Habeas Corpus Act," and went on to say with regard to prohibition of Suffrage meetings in Hyde Park that no liberty-loving British subject wanted to leave it to the police to decide whether it was safe to allow meetings, and he spoke bitterly about Mr. Bodkin's warning to subscribers to the W.S.P.U. funds and to the supporters of that society. As to the plea that emotional people might be led to commit crime by speeches, he said: "I had sooner people who are emotional were led away to commit crime than that we should stifle freedom of speech. Forbidding freedom of speech will only drive error underground, where it will thrive."

Letter from Mr. Lansbury

A letter was also read aloud from Mr. Lansbury, in which he said: "I shall fight the question of the right of freedom of speech and freedom of expression right up to the highest available tribunal, and if beaten there, under no circumstances shall submit to be bound over, as I consider it of the very greatest importance we should maintain in this country the full right to say what we will in connection with the Government and administration of our land. Such rights as we enjoy are held in trust for those who come after us."

Result of the Riot

As a result of the riot, seven men were brought up before Mr. Dickinson at Bow Street on Monday morning; six of them were fined sums ranging from 40s. to £5, with the alternative of varying terms of imprisonment, and the seventh was bound over.

THE MEN'S LEAGUE MEETING

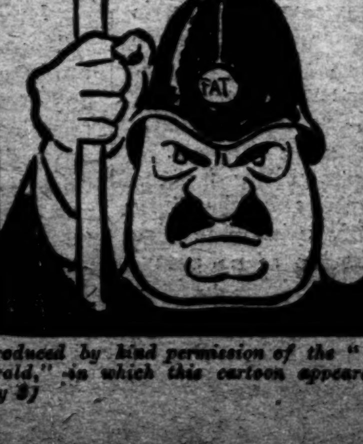
Although the Men's League were allowed neither platform nor chairs to stand upon, they held their usual Sunday meeting in Hyde Park at three o'clock, the speakers standing on the grass and addressing an audience estimated at 3,000 for upwards of half-an-hour, after which an organised gang of hooligans made a further hearing impossible. As Mr. Laurence Housman, one of the speakers, writes in the *Manchester Guardian*, "The Men's League meeting for women's suffrage was, with the careful assistance of the police, broken up a perfectly good-humoured crowd." He further claims to have established a connection between the police and the hooligan interrupters in the following incident told by him:—

"I saw a tall, shabby fellow in the crowd giving the lead to the rest. When the music began he was a leader of the chorus. Presently, in the crush which followed, there was an attempt to pick the pocket of the man next to me. The would-be thief was caught in the act. An inspector signalled; instantly the chorus leader was at his side, caught hold of the man, and signalled for other police to come and make the arrest. Here, then, was a man obviously in touch with the police who had previously been doing his best to break up our meeting and to throw us back on to the police for protection."

Well might Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., write to Mr. McKenna in a letter published in last Tuesday's *Daily Herald*:—"I beg you most earnestly to consider whether the true interests of social order would not be better served by keeping the police as far as possible away from public meetings in the present state of popular feeling."

A LIBERAL PRESS COMMENT

It is so vitally important to us all, but especially to Liberals, to safeguard the right of free speech, that the action of the police, in regard to which Mr. McKenna was questioned yesterday, needs to be very closely watched. . . . Because certain aspects of the suffrage movement have been made unpopular, or have even been put outside the law, that does not in the least impair the absolute rights of its supporters to advocate their cause in the manner the law permits, and they are entitled to call on the Executive for real, and not illusory, protection in so doing. In its absence there are very few causes advocacy of which could not at one time or another be made impossible by a hundred vocalists, and very few Liberal causes in regard to which the hundred would not be forthcoming.—**Daily News.**



(Reproduced by kind permission of the "Daily Herald," in which this cartoon appeared on May 3)

HUNT THE SLIPPER IN HYDE PARK

At Hyde Park, fresh attempts were made by the police to create disorder. There the battle raged from 5.30 till past seven o'clock. The first incident, marked by three arrests, took place at the Marble Arch, on the arrival from Trafalgar Square of a procession of men and women, chiefly workers, headed by three women carrying the militant tricolours. When they reached Cumberland Gate they wheeled round to march into the Park. Instantly the police, whose nerves seem quite incapable of enduring the sight of purple, white, and green, blocked the gates and refused the right of entry to those who wished to enter. Naturally, the women protested and resisted; as naturally, a crowd collected. The police arrested the women and confiscated their flags. The next morning the three defendants—they were Mrs. Baines, Miss May Brown, and Miss Annie Lansbury—were charged with "obstruction" (though the only obstruction had been caused by the police); the crowd, incidentally, was charged with showing "extreme violence and hostility" to the women (though the only violence and hostility shown had come from the police); and three more women were found guilty in the cause of freedom.

The rest of the procession straggled into the park by twos and threes, as best it could, angered at the gratuitous attack made upon their public rights; and an element of rebellion was thus introduced with them. The hooligans seemed to have deserted the battlefield, having found no work for their idle hands to do after the police allowed them to break up the Men's League Meeting at three o'clock. Without the aid of their graceless allies, the police could do little to irritate the respectable crowd that already peopled the Park, and were now reinforced by the demonstrators from the Square, who came in by degrees at all the gates. Were the Suffragettes going to do anything? everybody was saying—hopefully.

A Woman's White Arm

Suddenly, from the midst of a little group of friends, a woman's white arm shot up, brandishing the torn and tattered remnant of a purple, white, and green flag. A great shout went up—how the hearts of the police must have sunk at that evidence of "violence and hostility"!—and a large and friendly crowd instantly gathered round the little central bodyguard. Standing on the outskirts of it, one could not see the speaker, one could barely catch her words; but the white hand, grasping the torn banner, stood out against the clear sky like a heraldic device, a symbol of freedom.

The police hurried to the spot. With immense difficulty they forced their way through the unwilling throng, who did nothing to help and everything to obstruct. They whistled for reinforcements. The crowd roared derisively. Reinforcements came, their objective the white arm brandishing aloft the torn rag that meant so much. When enough constables were on the spot to beat it down, there were cries of "Shame!" for them, and nothing but cheers for the woman.

Hooting the Home Office

Another crowd gathered some distance away. Another woman, mounted on the railings this time, began to address it. Again, all was order and enthusiasm until the police invaded the crowd, and pulled the woman down with such roughness that everybody protested. "Well, I don't know that I'm a Suffragette exactly, but I do think it's shameful to treat them like that," was a well-dressed spectator's remark that voiced a very general feeling.

A storm of "boos" took the people to another spot. The Under-Secretary of State had been detected prowling round the edge of the conflict. For the moment his guard of plain-clothes officials must have deserted him, for a man in the crowd was able to walk up to him and shout: "Traitor! Torturer of women! Cat and Mouse Bill!" The cry was instantly taken up; three hoots for the Home Office were heartily given; and when, a few minutes later, the same man dared to protect a woman from the violence of the police, he was run out of the Park by three of them. But he was cheered all the way.

Hunting the Slipper

The police, however, did not get another chance to ill-treat the women. The next time they broke into the dense crowd that surrounded a W.S.P.U. speaker, they reached the centre of it only to find the woman gone, and to hear her voice raised again from another crowd a little way off. She had been passed adroitly through the throng while her would-be captors were laboriously making their way into it from another point. After that, the game of hunt-the-slipper was played with great success until sunset, the slipper winning every time, amid the delighted plaudits of the crowd. But it was a deadly serious game, as all games are when the stakes are life and liberty.

Just before seven o'clock, one woman held her crowd spellbound for upwards of a quarter of an hour. It was extraordinarily dramatic, with a touch of mysticism about it. In the west, the sun was going down in a maze of dull-red smoke; twilight was gathering rapidly; a kind of hush seemed suddenly to sweep over the restless scene. One of the largest crowds yet seen stood knit together on the green that stretches away towards Kensington Gardens; every man and woman in it was bent slightly forward in a listening attitude; on the outskirts the police hovered uncertainly, hesitating to break in. Was the spell over them too?

From the middle of the dark mass rose a woman's voice, clear, unfaltering, curiously unreal, except for the simple truth and directness of what she was saying. It was like the voice of doom, pronouncing the fate of all tyrannies and all oppressors. The men and women, standing there huddled together in the twilight, reformers all, of one kind or another, with a sprinkling of bewildered loafers, who got small attention paid to their stupid jests, seemed bound by a communion that knew no limits of time or space. If I were a tyrant, I would not like to have stood fifteen minutes in a crowd like that.

When the police did break in at last, the woman was gone. Few had even seen her face. But who that had listened to her words from the depths of that throng of rebels could say that it was not the woman who won?

E. S.

WOMEN AND THE PLURAL VOTING BILL

The Plural Voting Bill was read a second time on Thursday in last week, after a debate occupying two days. The Opposition amendment—"That this House is not prepared to accept a Bill which professes to remove one only of the anomalies affecting electoral law"—was moved by Mr. F. E. Smith. Among those who supported the amendment, Mr. Philip Snowden, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Mr. Bonar Law made telling references to Woman Suffrage.

SUFFRAGE PASSAGES FROM THE DEBATE

MR. F. E. SMITH

"No Greater Provocation"

Mr. F. E. Smith said he did not know what was the whole story as to the abandonment of the Bill introduced a year ago, but he strongly suspected that its abandonment was not altogether unconnected with the difficulty in which the Government found themselves in relation to their pledges to the woman suffragists. The Prime Minister gave a pledge that if an amendment to that Bill were adopted giving women the vote the Government would make themselves responsible for the measure as amended, send it up as a Government proposal to the House of Lords, and support it with their full force in its later stages. He had always taken the view that the pledge was one which ought never to have been given and could not have been carried out.

"I strongly suspect," added Mr. Smith, "that one of the reasons which led to the substitution of the present Bill for the comprehensive Bill of last year is the desire of the Government to escape from the dilemma in which in my view they so unnecessarily involved themselves a year ago. From the point of view of some of the supporters of the Government I cannot conceive a greater degree of provocation than is given by, first of all, offering to bring in a Bill with this Amendment added to it, and then withdrawing that Bill for reasons wholly irrelevant to the pledge they had given, and now substituting a Bill which deals with only one anomaly in the whole system. I submit that no greater provocation could be conceived than that of the Government substituting this Bill for their wider proposal."

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN

"The Least Important Item"

Mr. Philip Snowden said he should vote for the Amendment, and was not in the least concerned as to the motives which prompted the Opposition to put it forward. He then dealt at some length with the history of the Prime Minister's pledge to Suffragists first given on December 10, 1909, and finally exploded last January. He did not blame them for withdrawing the Bill on the ruling of the Speaker; but, he added, "what I complain of is that they have not accepted the position as it was left by your ruling, Mr. Speaker, at the end of last Session, and instead of reintroducing a Franchise Bill, which would have been a comprehensive scheme of electoral reform, that would have fulfilled the Prime Minister's repeated declaration that if the House so desired, Women Suffrage would be made part of the Reform Bill, instead of doing that, the Government have postponed to an indefinite day the question of a definite scheme of electoral reform, and from the wreckage of the Reform Bill they have selected one item, and from the point of view of importance and urgency, the least important of all the items in the Franchise Bill of last Session."

LORD HUGH CECIL

Coercion and "Clean Hands"

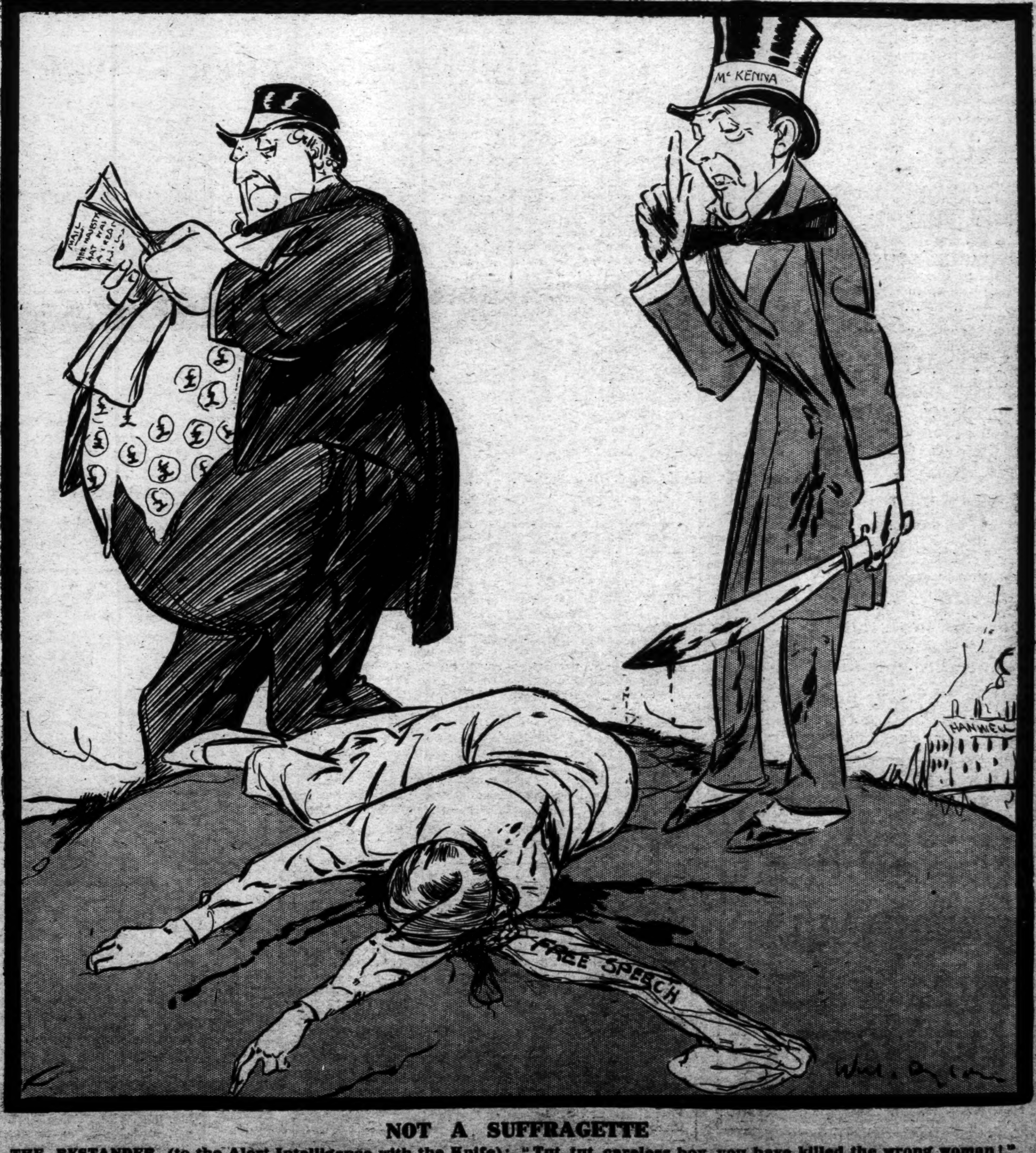
"I am very glad the Government should become coercionists even so late in life and are using this extraordinary method of enforcing the law, but I think it is a pity that they should engage in it when their position is open to such serious charges of disingenuousness, when they promised over and over again, through the mouths of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they would give Women Suffrage an opportunity of becoming a Government Bill. I do not think that they should ever have made that promise, but I think when they did make it, if they were not able to keep it, they had only one honourable alternative, and that was to resign. They should not, I think, after breaking their promise to carry that particular branch of franchise reform, endeavour to pass this particular branch of that reform. I say that is to approach the subject in a spirit seriously provocative of the indignation of those who feel deeply and warmly upon this subject. It is the most unfortunate possible ground on which to enforce the law by strict penalties and by unusual powers given to the police and the magistrates.

"When entering upon a campaign of this kind the Executive Government ought to have its hands absolutely clean. No one could say the Government's hands are clean; they have incurred, and properly, imputations of double dealing in respect to Women Suffrage."

MR. BONAR LAW

"Women the Slaves of Men"

"I am not going to make a speech on Women Suffrage. Heaven forbid! I have escaped so far—and I have been rather lucky. I have never made a speech on it either in this House or out of it, and I am not going to take the opportunity now. I do understand thoroughly the principle on which people act who hold the view that I hold, that the franchise is not a right but a privilege, and that those who hold it should not part with it unless they believe that those to whom they give it will add to the strength and security of the State. I can understand people who take that view saying, 'We will not give votes to women, because we think it will not add to the strength and security of the State.' But what about the point of view of people who say that every citizen has a right to equal electoral power, and yet would not give it to women? They can only justify that in one way—again taking the illustration of what happened in Greece. Every citizen had equal power, but below the citizens was a great slave population, who had no power. In my deliberate opinion, any man who holds that view and refuses to give votes for women can only justify it in the belief that women are not citizens, but the slaves of men!"



NOT A SUFFRAGETTE

THE BYSTANDER (to the Alert Intelligence with the Knife): **"Tut, tut, careless boy, you have killed the wrong woman!"**

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Herald," in which this Cartoon appeared on May 5).

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"THE FOOL IN CHRIST"*

On winter evenings somewhere in the nineties, snug dwellers in farms and cottages among the mountains and valleys of Central Germany would hear through the roar of the storm a knock at their lonely doors. And when the householder, barely opening because of the cold and his fear, asked who the wayfarer might be, there came always the simple answer, "Christ." And always, in terror and horror, every door was slammed and barred. It was never known for how many months the wanderer who believed that Christ was in every man begged for shelter in that holy name; but when the summer sun had melted the snow on the heights, it shone on his starved, frozen body.

Emanuel Quint was the son of a carpenter of the Eulen Mountains, but he was also the son of man and the son of God. That was the complicated inner consciousness which his uneducated brain had to carry, and which resulted in words and deeds so apparently presumptuous that he himself stood aghast and bewildered. What was he? He could not even frame that question. Without knowing it, he was losing his reason in the mystery of personality, and the outwardly real and the unreal had for him become confused. Not that Quint is presented to us as a problem in psychology or that he would ever have been aware of himself as such. The story of the Fool in Christ may be read simply as an extraordinary novel—the publisher calls it a "prose-poem," whatever that may mean—but if we choose, it may take us down into those uncomfortable regions that lie almost beyond consciousness.

Emanuel, filled with the sins of the world, leaves his miserable home to preach repentance. He is a Fool, starved, half-naked, refusing to touch money, dumb save on religion. Unable to explain himself, he yet exhales an atmosphere of simplicity and goodness which attracts and awes all spiritually-minded men. Nathaniel, the sturdy Moravian preacher, is bewitched by him into playing the part of John the Baptist; young men gather round him; he wanders from village to village followed by a band of disciples; he lives over again many of the New Testament scenes. In the wild mountains above Silesia he was tempted of the devil; in the wretched huts of the mountain dwellers he appeared by his magnetic calm to heal the sick and soothe the ravings of the demented; in Breslau he consorts habitually with publicans and sinners; he preaches and his followers do not understand, but they believe. He is the friend of women; the orthodox revile him, he is imprisoned, he is stoned. He is a blasphemer who says that he is Christ; this is the second coming. At what point he actually passed from feeling Christ to be in him to believing in some more definite way that he actually was Christ is not clear. Probably there was no definite point. To his followers he always refused to "give a sign," and this refusal of his to work miracles in the end took their faith away.

Inevitably a band of "hysterics" collected round him, and during a long absence of the master's these unfortunate people formed themselves into "The Valley Brotherhood," a community which soon became orgiastic and scandalous. When Quint heard of their excesses he had one of his rare bursts of anger, and descending upon the brotherhood, broke it up and withdrew his disciples. His own life was beyond reproach, pure, and filled with love for all living things. He never could understand the rage and hatred of men towards him. As the great and orthodox Baron Killwinkel contentedly said as he watched Emanuel being stoned after one of his open-air sermons, "It speaks well for the religious spirit of the people."

It is impossible in a short review to convey any idea of this wonderful book. It gives a most unusual picture of the crude religious world in which the uneducated peasantry of this part of Germany live, of the hardly less crude world of the teachers and pastors; of the superstitious gropings of the gipsy smugglers, Bohemia Joe and Schwabe the hunchback tailor; of the queer society at Breslau. And although there are far more men than women in the story, the women stand out in one's memory as centres either of suffering or of nobility. Emanuel's attitude to women was truly Christ-like, and his staunchest followers were women. It is strong, good women like the Nurse Hedvig who believe in him when everyone else has forsaken him. The devotion of Ruth leads to a tragedy which would make most books seem sordid, but here everything is sublimated by the really divine influence of the Fool.

J. E. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Abbé Edgeworth and His Friends." By V. M. Montagu. (London: Herbert Jenkins, Ltd. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

"The One Maid Book of Cookery." By A. E. Congreve. (London: Herbert Jenkins, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Perceptions of Robert Bowman Peck." (London: Elkin Mathews. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Westminster Review." May. (London: E. Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth." By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. (London: New International Publishing Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Englishwoman." May. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

Report of the Conference of the Independent Labour Party. (I.L.P., St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, E.C. Price 3d.)

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* "The Fool in Christ." By Gerhart Hauptmann. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. (Methuen. 6s.)

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THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

"A new ideal has dawned, a new hope and a new enthusiasm is taking possession of the souls of millions." In these words a man who has quickened the spirit of religion in the hearts of thousands of people in this country referred to the great awakening which is taking various forms of expression in the Woman's Movement of the present day.

"You may blame," said the Rev. R. J. Campbell, "this or that excess on the part of its individual adherents. You may get angry with them, and condemn them, but assuredly you cannot stop this incoming tide of divine life; for where the spirit of sacrifice is in the service of a high impersonal end, you behold something of the redeeming work of Christ. When the Home Secretary testified the other day in the House of Commons that nothing could exceed the heroism and self-devotion of the Suffragists whom the law obliged him to keep in prison, he but paid unconscious tribute to the principle which is the very core of the Christian gospel. These women are in deadly earnest; so much so that, as this responsible Minister of the Crown declared, they would welcome death itself if that would secure the triumph of their cause. Be sure no cause can be resisted for ever which can produce such a spirit. It is a just and righteous cause."

These grave words, uttered with a deep sense of religious responsibility at a time of social and political crisis, should command the consideration of all thinking men and women who have the honour and welfare of the community at heart. For they penetrate below the surface of the events that are now filling the newspapers, and indicate the nature of that divine impulse in the human spirit now at war with the force of dead obstruction. It is this conflict that is producing the ferment and unrest and revolt at the present time.

What is this new ideal that has dawned in the souls of millions? The leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons came very near to the apprehension of it last week, when in the debate upon the Plural Voting Bill he challenged the attitude of the Liberal Government in the following sentence:—

"What about the point of view of people who say that every citizen has a right to equal electoral power and yet will not give it to women? They can only justify their attitude in one way. In Greece every citizen had equal power, but below the citizen there was a great slave population who had no power, and everyone who holds the view I have just referred to and refuses to gives votes to women can only justify it on the plea that women are not citizens but slaves of men."

The new ideal is nothing less than the liberation of the body and soul of womanhood from age-long subjection and slavery, and with the liberation of womanhood the fuller spiritual emancipation of the entire human race.

That ideal has passed over from the spiritual into the political sphere, and is embodied to-day in the demand that the mothers of the race shall be citizens of the human commonwealth, that women as well as men shall possess the right of self-government that is symbolised and ratified by the vote.

This demand made in the name of justice and reason has been for half a century resisted by the rulers of the land. Moreover, a long campaign of provocation and a continuous policy of trickery, betrayal, violence and incitement on the part of the Government have challenged and have evoked the spirit of revolt in the overwhelmingly gentle, peaceful, and law-abiding half of the community.

The awakened consciousness of race motherhood in women has been ruthlessly outraged, and they have turned at bay to defend those helpless ones whose cry for protection is in their ears.

That in women which is most sacred, that in the community which is most life-giving has been turned by the evil genius of those who rule to purposes of destruction.

The spirit of self-giving service for the common weal, the sense of human dignity and responsibility that were most potent as forces for evolution have been driven into the paths of revolution. This is the human tragedy with which at the present time we are confronted in our national life.

Behind that human tragedy the deliverance of the future is being worked out. It is not in sorrow but in assurance that we confront the present situation. It is not with doubt but with certainty of victory that the rank and file of every section of the Suffrage Movement throughout the length and breadth of the land feel themselves united as never before in steadfast determination to win this battle of the emancipation of women. It is with joy that we see all the forces of progress in the country taking their stand with us to fight for the rights of Public Meeting and Free Speech. Out of this night of tyranny and coercion shall dawn a new day of liberty for the people of our blood.

Into the ranks of this great Movement for the spiritual deliverance and moral regeneration of the human race every living human soul is called. And to every man and woman is offered the great opportunity and the solemn duty of taking part in one of the greatest social, political, and religious movements which the world has ever seen, at the moment of supreme crisis, when every new reinforcement affects the immediate issue of the struggle between the new faith and the old denial, the revivifying hope and the world-old despair.

We believe and are sure that the hearts of old and young, of rich and poor, of the educated and the simple will be stirred to new and deep vibrations by the same spirit that has prompted men and women to withhold nothing, not even their life, as the price of the deliverance of the human soul from domination and dishonour.

We believe and are sure that thousands who, because of the pressure of other duties and interests, because of that absent-mindedness which preoccupation engenders, have remained outside the active ranks of this Movement, will, as the result of the Government's drastic repression, respond to the clarion call for common and united action, and will throw themselves with all their soul and energy into the conflict between the spirit of sacrifice and the spirit of coercion.

At a time like this, when the forces of persecution are rampant in high places, and are being called in to stamp out the flame of revolt which has been kindled by the Government itself, the readers of this paper are faced with a great responsibility and a great duty.

The deliberate aim of the Government and its allies is to spread darkness and create confusion. For only in darkness can they work their deeds of treachery. Only in the confusion of public opinion, which, by suppression of truth and distortion of facts, they and their ally, the subsidised Press, have created, can they carry out their cruel purpose.

Darkness can be fought only by light. No hand is too small or too weak to lift up the torch of truth. Our paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, lives for the purpose of spreading the light, as the servant of truth in the cause of justice. Its readers are called upon by the pressure of recent events to dedicate themselves individually to the same service, with renewed enthusiasm and devotion.

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In the words of the Founder of our faith we might indeed say, "The harvest surely is ripe, but the labourers are few." Few or many, let the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN devote themselves with all their heart and will and strength to the work so urgently demanded from them. Let them become from henceforth missionaries of the truth, spreaders of the light, preachers both in season and out of season of the new ideal, of the transforming hope, teachers and revealers of the spirit of sacrifice, recruiters of labourers for the harvest, workers, organisers and initiators, makers of paths that shall lead on the human race to a new vision of life and a richer fulfilment of being. We must win the world for this new ideal, this transforming hope, that has already taken possession of the souls of millions. Never at any period of the world's history was a greater cause or a greater opportunity offered for the devotion and enthusiasm of the children of light.

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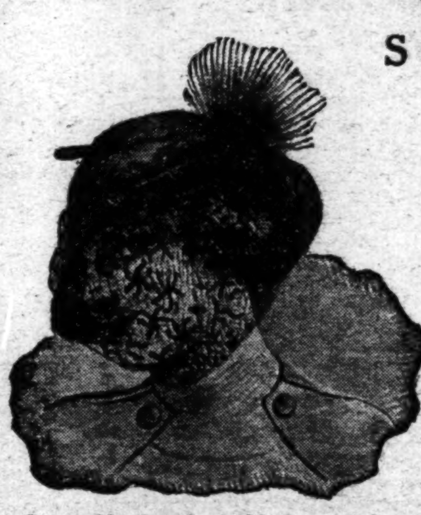

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THE

FATE OF THE BILL

Mr. Dickinson's Woman Suffrage Bill has been defeated in the House of Commons by a majority of 47 votes. Granted the facts of the situation, the result was a foregone conclusion.

What are these facts? Firstly, the Government deliberately drove a wedge through the ranks of the Woman Suffragists in the House of Commons. Secondly, Mr. Asquith's personal attitude made it impossible for any keen supporter of the existing programme of the Government to allow the Bill to be carried.

The question of Woman Suffrage admittedly cuts right across the ordinary lines of party cleavage. The immense proportion of the Coalition who are in favour of the principle do not of themselves constitute an absolute majority of the House, but reinforced by the considerable section of the Unionists who are also in favour they do form an overwhelming majority. Put into the terms of figures the facts may be stated very roughly as follows: The House consists of 670 members, of these about 400 are Suffragists, some 300 belonging to the Coalition, and about 100 being Unionists.

There are two ways, therefore, and two ways alone, in which Woman Suffrage could be carried. Either the minority in the Coalition might bow to the great majority, as it is prepared to do on all other matters of party policy, and consent to support a purely Liberal measure of franchise reform including Woman Suffrage; or on the other hand, the Government might consent to stand aside and allow a purely non-party Bill for Woman Suffrage, which would command the support of Suffragists drawn from both sides of the House to have fair play. Neither course has been followed. The Government have refused to make themselves responsible for a Liberal Franchise Bill including women, and at the same time they deliberately torpedoed the Conciliation Bill, which was a bonâ fide and successful attempt to produce a measure which would satisfy all parties.

Instead, by the direct intervention of members of the Cabinet, they deliberately and definitely insisted that the private members' Bill which should be debated should be of the kind which has just been defeated; that is to say, that it should be a Bill framed in the supposed interests of the Liberal Party, framed so as to confer at one step enfranchisement upon many million women, and therefore a Bill which would of necessity lose the bulk, if not the whole, of the Unionist support. This theoretical statement has definitely worked out in practice; instead of the 100 Unionist supporters of Woman Suffrage, only 27 Unionists voted in the "Aye" lobby last Tuesday, and of these several indicated their intention of voting against the third reading unless the Bill was considerably amended in Committee. Men like Mr. Balfour, who so late as last January expressed the hope that he would be a member of the Committee (or Cabinette, as it was called) which should be responsible for the Suffrage Bill, absented himself from the division, and his example was followed by Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lyttelton, and all the other Opposition front bench Suffragists.

It is therefore perfectly correct to say that the Government, having refused to make themselves responsible for Woman Suffrage, and having professed to leave the question open to the House, deliberately drove a wedge through the supporters of Woman Suffrage, detaching the great bulk of the Unionists, and leaving only a rump of Suffragist supporters to go into the division lobby.

But this was not all. In addition, Mr. Asquith took care that no ardent supporter of the existing Liberal programme should be in any doubt as to what would happen if the Bill were carried. He himself, the Head of the Government, intervened in the debate and though he stated directly that the vote would be open and no pressure of any kind would be put on his party, yet he used these remarkable words referring to his supporters in the House of Commons:—

> If they had suggested even in the most indirect way that they regarded this as so important and dominating an issue that they did not feel themselves justified in following a Government, the head of which was opposed to them on this particular matter, I need hardly say that great as would have been my regret in severing myself from the prosecution of other great causes, I should have deferred to that opinion and I should have entrusted to other hands the office which I hold. But they never intimated that to me.

In other words, Mr. Asquith only remains at the head of the Government so long as the members of the Coalition are content to consider Woman Suffrage a subordinate issue. The more this statement is considered the more clearly it will be seen that though it does not say so directly, it is a covert threat that any undue eagerness on the part of his party will mean the retirement of their chief.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the great bulk of the Redmondite Party, Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, thought that the best thing they could do in the interests of Home Rule would be to defeat the Bill and their votes 55 against 8 settled the question.

No careful student of facts can doubt for one moment that these two causes which we have named decided the fate of the Bill, yet we see that with shameless lack of veracity several Liberal newspapers do not hesitate to attribute its defeat solely to militancy. Is it pretended that Unionists, who have throughout declared their intention of resisting any but a moderate measure of Woman Suffrage, would have changed their policy but for militancy? Or is it seriously contended that the Irish members, whose record in Ireland in the eighties of last century is not forgotten, are shocked when far less serious crimes are committed in England? The reasons are much nearer home to the Liberal Party. They are due to the causes which every section of Suffragists outside the House foresaw in advance, and which we have already set forth.

Now, as to the future. The Government are very probably well satisfied with their position; they think they have got rid of the troublesome question of Woman Suffrage for the present in the House of Commons at the same time that they have adopted effective methods of coercion to deal with the revolutionary campaign in the country. We believe that they are entirely mistaken. The only possible justification for strong coercive measures would have been simultaneous and thorough redress of grievances. By their rejection of Woman Suffrage and by their dishonourable dealing they have forged a weapon which the forces of revolution will not be slow to use.

We see before this country a period of disorder such as it has not known for decades, perhaps for centuries. We see the prospect of violence answered by violence in a terrible crescendo. We foresee the likelihood of crimes being sympathised with, if not condoned and approved, by many of the most respected and law-abiding members of the community. And we know that for this detestable state of affairs the Government, by their refusal to do justice, and by their wicked and wanton provocation, will have been directly responsible.

DEFEAT OF THE SUFFRAGE BILL

Debate in the House—Extracts from Principal Speeches

THE RESULT

The Bill was thrown out. The figures were as follows:

For the second reading	**221**
Against	**267**
Majority...	**—46**

The House of Commons certainly does not show itself to advantage when it is debating the question of Woman Suffrage. It talks, and talks, and talks and does nothing. Arguments are brought forward and refuted absolutely; but they come up again next year precisely as if nothing had happened. In fact they are very likely to come up again next hour, for the House never listens to speeches except those of its prominent men. A member comes in, makes his speech, and runs out again. Often, nobody pays the least attention to him, except the bored Speaker, and the painstaking reporters in the Press gallery.

Then when it comes to the voting, all the dreary waste of debate goes for nothing, except some salient utterances of members of the Cabinet, which have nothing to do with the merits of the issue at stake but only with the question of party exigency.

This was particularly evident in the debate which took place on Monday and Tuesday last. On the first day, the House was almost empty, though in the lobbies were other members who were prepared on an emergency to come into the Chamber to prevent a "count out." There was a better attendance, it is true, on Tuesday, but that was principally because the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey were expected to speak, and some pronouncement on the situation was anticipated.

In these circumstances we have followed a new plan in our account; instead of attempting to give a faithful summary of the debate as a whole we have picked out a few of the more salient remarks and are reproducing them with comment of our own. For the rest, our readers will have found excellent accounts in the more substantial daily papers or if they desire the complete record they can obtain it in the Official Reports published each day for threepence each.

Particular attention is directed to the utterance of the Prime Minister with regard to his position in his own party, which is contained in the extract from his speech which we reproduce. (See col 1 of next page.)

THE DEBATE

Though perhaps too apologetic in tone, there was some good solid meat in Mr. Dickinson's speech on Monday in which he moved the second reading. At the commencement he was careful to point out that he did not underrate the difficulties that had to be met. It was true that the Government had removed all obstacles of procedure out of their way; but, even with what were called Government facilities, their means of defence fell far short of those usually at the disposal of a Government. Then there had been the difficulty of drafting a Bill acceptable to all parties. He hoped that in the present measure a good compromise had been effected. As to the principle of the matter, no fewer than 182 popularly elected bodies, including the most influential councils in the kingdom, had passed resolutions in favour of woman suffrage during the past two or three years. If he was asked why women wanted the vote and what good it would do them he answered that it would do them the same good that it had done men.

Coercion No Remedy

Mr. Dickinson had a good deal of unfavourable comment to make upon militant tactics, which he held had materially damaged the position inside the House of Commons. He was glad to see that strong steps were being taken to bring the offenders to book. But these steps must not stand alone. His final appeal was made in powerful language. He said:—

> This House is very powerful; but there is a greater power—that of justice. I believe that no man and no body of men can permanently refuse justice to any class of their fellow creatures. Although you may reject this Bill to-day, you will be compelled soon, not by threats or by violence, but by the all-pervading pressure of justice, to yield to women what they claim to be their right as co-partners in the great society of the State. I cannot believe that there is a single member of this House who views the present condition of affairs with unconcern. Whether we succeed or not by special police measures and by panic legislation in damping down the immediate lawlessness of the moment, no one thinks that the agitation itself will cease. Are we going on blindly seeking for new remedies when we have the one remedy, which will be effective, ready to hand? We cannot go on preventing women's meetings for ever. We cannot make forcible feeding a normal part of our prison regulations. We cannot spend our time here in devising extraordinary methods to meet unexpected developments. We can, however, apply the real remedy by removing the cause. We may enfranchise women now without any loss of dignity, and without any admission that we are yielding to force. The time will come when we shall have to take the same course, but with less dignity.

For this reason he said he earnestly begged the House to act without delay by allowing this Bill to be read a second time.

A Thick Stick Wanted

Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck, in a stirring speech, spoke of the industrial revolution which had transformed the status of women, and pointed out that a recent Board of Trade investigation had shown that 15 per cent. of the women engaged in the clothing trade earned less than 10s. a week, and 67 per cent. less than 15s. There were other matters concerning arbitrary fines and long hours and improper work, all of which were the subject of recommendations. He proceeded to point the moral:—

> Notwithstanding all this, Parliament has never found time to deal with these questions. The other day working women went as a deputation to the Prime Minister. They were received courteously and kindly, and the Prime Minister assured them that if they had the time Parliament would be glad to deal with their grievances. That is just the point. Parliament never has had time, and never will have time, unless and until the women are in the same position as the men to be able to stand over the Government of the day with a thick stick and make them do what is desired.

This emphatic way of expressing the meaning of the vote was received in the House of Commons with cheers and laughter, which showed that the point went home.

Legislation in Times of Excitement

Dealing with militancy, he said that he had no sympathy with unconstitutional actions, but the unconquerable will of the militants had made the Government look profoundly ridiculous. He reminded the House of the statement by Lord Macaulay when the Reform Bill was being discussed. It ran as follows:—

> The logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma: If the people are turbulent, they are unfitted for liberty; if they are quiet, they do not want liberty. Reformers are compelled to legislate fast because bigots will not legislate early. Reformers are compelled to legislate in times of excitement because bigots will not legislate in times of tranquillity.

According to the newer Liberalism as enunciated by the pundits of the National Liberal Club, these doctrines, which had the support of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Lord Morley, were all wrong.

Futility of a Private Member's Bill

Mr. Arnold Ward, in opposing the Bill, made at least one point on which most suffragists outside the House of Commons will be inclined to agree with him. He showed up the hollowness of the method of proceeding by private member's bill. He said:—

> The inference I want to draw from that is that this Bill has broken up one of the most important component parts of the sort of alliance which has existed between different sections of Suffragists, and shows clearly that in a House of Commons like this you cannot have this relation on Women Suffrage. You cannot have a non-party Women Suffrage; you must either have a Liberal party form of Women Suffrage which this Bill embodies, put forward by a Liberal Government and supported by the undivided Liberal party, or you must have a limited and Conservative form of Women Suffrage in the same way put forward by a Government and backed by a homogeneous party. The women Suffragists seem, I submit, in this matter to have shown sound political intuition when they claim that Women Suffrage, in order to be successful, must be made a Government measure.

He contended that the three members of the Labour Party who were prepared to subordinate all other considerations to that of woman suffrage and vote against the Plural Voting Bill were the only effective woman suffragists. For the rest, he repeated the oft-refuted argument that woman suffrage would have no effect upon wages, denied that the militants were an insignificant part of the suffrage army, and contended that women's questions were "tenderly" considered by members of all political parties.

Narrowing Women's Sphere

Among the speeches which followed none was more important or more thoroughly to the point than that of Viscount Wolmer, who gave examples of the way in which the interests of women were regarded by the House of Commons. The attempt to exclude women from working at the pit brow was only defeated because 500 women came up from Lancashire and "made such a din" that the obnoxious clause was removed. On the other hand, the Bill to abolish the sex barrier to the legal profession never made any progress in the House of Commons. No doubt this was all done from the very highest motives. He proceeded:—

> I want, however, to know how it is that this House is always attempting to narrow down the sphere of activity for women in this country. How is it that the fields of labour and the professions are never being opened to women, but are always being closed by the House of Commons? It is because men have the vote and women have not.

Speeches against the Bill followed from Mr. Grant, Sir C. Henry (who said electoral reform ought to be initiated by the Government), Mr. J. M. Henderson, Sir J. D. Rees, and others, while Mr. H. D. McLaren, Mr. J. Parker, Mr. Goulding, Mr. W. R. Rea and others supported the Bill.

Women's Hats in the House

Mr. Hunt said that if votes were given to women they would undoubtedly sit in the House of Commons.

> You could not prevent it, and whether rightly or wrongly, they could be War Ministers or anything else. There would be nothing to prevent them being Speaker. We might have to address the Chair as "Mrs. Speaker, Ma'am," for all we could tell. If women had votes in the same proportion as men, you would have more women voters than men, and I cannot think that that would be a good thing for the country. There are obvious disadvantages about having women in Parliament. I do not know what is going to be done about their hats. Are they going to wear hats or not going to wear hats? If you ordered them not to wear hats, you might be absolutely certain that they would insist on wearing them. How is a poor little man to get on with a couple of women wearing enormous hats in front of him?

Considering that the question of when an M.P. should have his hat on and when off in the House of Commons is such a vital matter, and that hundreds of Press paragraphs have been written about it, it is perhaps not surprising that this aspect of the question should have seemed to Mr. Hunt to merit his most careful attention.

Mr. G. P. Collins derided the idea that the vote would raise wages. On the other hand, Sir A. Mond and Mr. Leif Jones made striking contributions to the pro-suffrage side of the debate.

THE SECOND DAY

The debate, when resumed on Tuesday, was opened by Sir J. Compton-Rickett, who somewhat lowered its tone by time-worn jests not worth recording, and further denied that there was any right to vote vested in individuals, or that payment of taxes was a sufficient reason for giving that right.

Mr. Philip Snowden

He was followed by Mr. Philip Snowden, who confessed his inability to congratulate the last speaker on his arguments, and added that he did not envy him his opinion of women. Mr. Snowden, after dealing with the principle at stake, went on to the political aspect, and attacked the theory that there was no mandate on this question. Surely the fact that it had been before the House for forty years should carry some weight; but he submitted the question was definitely before the electors at the last General Election because of the Prime Minister's declaration. Mr. Snowden made a good point by adding:—

> It has often been stated, in the course of this and other debates, that no member has been returned to this House solely on the question of Women Suffrage. Apart from members from Ireland, no member ever is returned to this House upon one question. If any member was returned to this House on the question of Women Suffrage, I venture to claim I am that member. In every one of my election addresses I have given prominence to this question. I seldom made a speech without referring to it. No elector in my constituency can be ignorant of my views upon this question, and at the election of January, 1910, on a bitterly cold winter's day, 7,000 men electors voluntarily walked into my committee room and signed a petition demanding that this Parliament should confer the Parliamentary vote upon women. Is there any member of this House who can produce a mandate like that for any other question?

THE PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister then made an important contribution to the discussion. He said:—

> I intervene in this debate with a good deal of reluctance, and I wish to make it clear at the outset that in what I shall say I speak for myself and for myself alone. So far as I am concerned no kind of pressure, direct or indirect, has been or will be, or can be exerted among those who do me the honour to follow me in political matters to induce them either to vote or to abstain from voting in this sense or that in the division lobby to-night. (Cheers.) Any statement or suggestion that has been made to the contrary I can assure them is totally devoid of any kind of foundation. (Cheers.)
>
> I may perhaps be permitted, although it is not strictly relevant to the question to be put from the Chair, to say one word as to the attitude of his Majesty's Government in regard to this question. We are divided, unhappily, in our opinions as to the merits or demerits of woman suffrage, but in the course we have taken, the assurances we have given, and the procedure we have followed we have been altogether united. (Cheers.) I, on behalf of the Government, very nearly five years ago announced when we carried out the intention we had already conceived of bringing in a Bill for the extension of the suffrage, that although woman suffrage would form no part of it, yet so far as we were concerned it would be framed in such a way as to admit, if the House of Commons thought right, of amendment in that direction, and if it was the deliberate judgment of the House that the Bill should be so amended we as a Government, whatever might be our individual opinions, would continue to give it our support and try to carry it into law. That policy, announced five years ago, was carried into effect, as we thought and believed, in the measure we introduced last Session. I quite admit that the attitude which we took up as a Government was open to legitimate criticism; indeed it is an attitude which can only be justified by regard to the special and, indeed, unique circumstances of this particular political issue, which, as I have said more than once, on both sides of the House cuts athwart ordinary lines of party division.
>
> It would, I need hardly say, have been with very great reluctance that those who, like myself, are opposed to woman suffrage would have made themselves, in deference to the judgment of the House of Commons, parties to proceeding, with the authority of the Government, with a measure in which woman suffrage had been incorporated. But it is only fair to say with regard to my right hon. friends and colleagues who sit beside me on this bench, and who are strong supporters of woman suffrage, that it would have been with equal reluctance on their part that they would have assented to the introduction of a measure extending in a very large degree the existing male electorate,

> which, in their view, by leaving the women's question untouched, would have aggravated the grievance and the sense of injustice from which women in their view were already suffering. We had to balance those two considerations the one against the other, and, looking back upon it, I do not think that we took a course which, either in the case of those who are in favour of woman suffrage or those who are opposed to it, was in any inconsistent with the best traditions of British statesmanship. We brought in that Bill, but, owing to circumstances which we certainly did not foresee, and which we could not control, our intentions were frustrated and we were obliged to withdraw it. I wish to say once more that with regard to the course which we then took, and the attitude which as a Government we are now assuming, the suggestion which I have seen made in some quarters that one section of the Government sought to outwit and trick the other is an entirely unworthy suggestion, and I shall command the assent of all my hon. and right hon. friends who sit on this bench when I say that the course which we did take and the course which we are now pursuing was one equally commended to and accepted by those amongst us who are stout opponents of woman suffrage and those—and there are many in the Cabinet—who have been among its most loyal and consistent supporters.

Position in the Liberal Party

> One word more, and only one word, in regard to what I may call the personal aspect of the matter. It has been to me since I have had the honour of holding my present office a matter of the most sincere regret that in regard to this particular question I have found myself at variance with a large number, perhaps with the majority, of those who ordinarily honour me in this House with their political support. I agree that I have been at variance with them, and they have treated me with the utmost consideration. If they had suggested even in the most indirect way that they regarded this as so important and dominating an issue that they did not feel themselves justified in following a Government the head of which was opposed to them on this particular matter, I need hardly say that great as would have been my regret in severing myself from the prosecution of other great causes, I should have deferred to that opinion and I should have entrusted to other hands the office which I hold. But they never intimated that to me. (Cheers.) Perhaps I may say, as it illustrates in a peculiarly acute way the special circumstances in which we as a party stand—and I think the party opposite would stand if they took our places to-morrow—that the only member on this bench who is going to take part in the debate to-night, and who is going to speak in an opposite sense to my own, is my right hon. friend and colleague the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He and I have sat side by side in this House now for twenty-seven years—in various parts of the House, but always side by side. With the exception of this particular topic I can say of him what I believe I can say of no other member in this House, that I cannot recall one single serious political issue upon which we have ever differed. He knows that I am speaking the truth when I say that if, as happily so rarely occurs, I find that his judgment and mine do not coincide, I begin to have serious doubts as to whether I am right. We are going to differ almost for the first time in public to-night, but of one thing I am sure, that we shall differ without any loss of good will, and one thing I also hope that we shall differ without any loss of good manners. (Laughter and cheers.) I am sorry to have said so much with regard to what are purely personal matters, but I shall confine my remarks within the briefest possible compass and state to the House my own personal view in regard to this Bill.

Mr. Asquith proceeded to advance arguments that can only be called antiquated, denying the existence of a mandate, repudiating the notion of women members of Parliament, lapsing into sentiment over the word "chivalry," and so on. He denied further that there was any evidence of a demand among women for the vote, or that existing legislation gave them any excuse for demanding the protection of the vote.

Lord Robert Cecil

Lord Robert Cecil, admitting that he did not like this particular Bill, said he would vote for the second reading because until some solution of the question was found every Government would be faced with insuperable difficulties and would lose prestige and reputation as the present Government had done in dealing with the subject.

SIR EDWARD GREY

A long speech from Sir Edward Grey covered most of the arguments in favour of the Bill. He said:

> I must say a word about the opening of the Prime Minister's speech. Let me say that I endorse entirely everything which he said with reference to the attitude of the Government. The course which the Government has pursued hitherto on this question has been one which has been accepted equally by those in the Government who are in favour of the franchise and those who are opposed to it, and for which both are jointly responsible. I would add that without exception all of us who are colleagues of my right hon. friend and who serve under him are bound to admit, and do most gladly recognise, that his own personal attitude throughout the whole of this matter has been scrupulously fair—(Cheers)—and he has shown great consideration to those whose views differ from his own. He has reaffirmed to-night to the House that we are absolutely free, and we know that he himself neither directly nor indirectly has done anything but do his utmost to convince people that that is really the case, and as far as he and members of the Government who are opposed to woman suffrage are concerned, they do not desire except by mere force of argument to influence the vote of the House by any party or personal consideration. (Cheers.) My right hon. friend also made a personal reference to myself on which I must say a few words. He recalled the fact that he and I have been associated in Parliament for twenty-seven years, and that during the whole of that time, except on this question, there has been agreement and co-operation and similarity of view on political questions between us which is rare even for people sitting on the same sides of the House, and even amongst colleagues. (Cheers.) That is quite true. One of the things I prize most is that this acquaintance and political co-operation through many years have long been merged in much more intimate and warm feelings of personal friendship. That friendship is one of the things I prize most. It is of such long standing and, I believe he would agree with me, it is so secure that even if this question of woman suffrage which divides us to-day was coming before the House for the first time, and the differences of our opinions were coming before us for the first time, even then we should have no fear that that friendship would be affected. But considering that this difference has been known to us for at least twenty-five years—(laughter)—it must be about that length of time since I first put my name on the back of a Bill for woman suffrage in this House and since I first heard him express his views against woman suffrage—I do not think he or I have the least apprehension that the renewed expression of it is going to affect our political co-operation or our personal feelings. I will go further than that and say that during all those years in which our opinions have differed neither of us has been on the fence. (Cheers.) I have been always strongly in favour of woman suffrage, and were I to say after so many years, on a question so important, that my view has been changed by arguments which are so familiar, even if they have been so ably expressed as they have been by him to-night, I think, knowing what the course of my feelings and opinions has been for so many years, I should have forfeited respect, as I should even if I did not avail myself of the opportunity to express and recommend them as strongly as I can to the House.

FROM SOUTH AFRICA

(*Special Cable to* Votes for Women.)

The Women's Enfranchisement League views with indignation the Government's attitude towards the just demand for women's enfranchisement, and calls upon the Mother of Parliaments to stimulate the loyalty of South African women by according political recognition to the women of Britain.

(Signed) Dr. Ruthven, President.

Another interesting passage in Sir Edward Grey's speech was that dealing with the previous record of the House with regard to Suffrage measures. The Suffrage Bill, he said, has

> passed its second reading in this House seven times. On each occasion, if the Bill went no further, it was for want of time, because it was not and could not be a Government Bill, and few but Government Bills have any chance. Is the House at this time of day to go back on opinions expressed so often? It is a very serious matter for Parliament to do that.

There was nothing very new in the arguments urged by him dealing with the principle of woman's enfranchisement, and the same might be said with justice of the speakers who followed him, most of the opponents of the Bill urging that it had not been before the electorate, and that to pass it would be to yield to the pressure of militant outrages, and most of its supporters urging, on the other hand, that it was not reasonable to disfranchise the constitutional majority because of the excesses of the few, and that it was absurd to suppose that every question could be submitted as a separate issue at a General Election.

Mr. Walter Long

There was nothing very illuminating in Mr. Walter Long's speech, which followed close upon that of the Foreign Secretary. He began with one of those personal tributes to the Prime Minister common to Suffrage debates in the House which are so often made an excuse for sinking party differences, but never for breaking party ties; and went on to a violent denunciation of militancy, saying:—

> I can only say that if I were an advocate of Women Suffrage, as convinced, sincere, and whole-hearted as is the Foreign Secretary, what we have recently endured would lead me to say that I would never vote for any practical proposal of the kind until these abominable outrages had been brought to an end.

He denied further that the vote would have any effect on women's wages, talked platitudes about the sentimental relations of men and women, and ended with the usual observations about the rights of the electorate with which Anti-Suffragists commonly approach the question of admitting women to those rights.

"The Most Humiliating Argument"

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald had something to say in answer to the Prime Minister's contention that men "were doing so well for women" in the matter of legislation, characterising this as "the most humiliating argument any Liberal could use against such a reform as we are asking for." He took a statesmanlike view of militancy, saying:

> We have taken steps to stop it; we have taken steps to punish it. Do not let us be content with that. Let us supplement those steps by something positive. Let us range ourselves side by side with those women who have never bowed the knee to militancy and who have kept up their demand year after year through a long and wearisome period of time. Let this House show that it can do justice to women and treat women as equals, and let it give them the vote which is the complement to the new social conditions in which they are asking this House to take them into partnership and make them copartners with men as citizens, so that the State may have the rich, the domestic, the wonderful experience of the woman who has lived, thought, and felt, and who desires to throw all that at the feet of the State, so that the young and the aged, the rich and the poor, may be blessed by that partnership.

"The Exceptional Woman"

The exceptional woman beloved of Anti-Suffragists was used by Mr. F. E. Smith as an argument against admitting the average woman to the rights of citizenship. He roused laughter by referring to Deborah as "the pioneer of the militant movement," and went on to say with regard to present militancy—

> I say deliberately here, as one who has taken as strong a view as anybody in this House of the conduct and tactics of the militant suffragists, that it was not until the year 1906, when they adopted in their earlier stages the tactics they did adopt, that a single person in this House or in the country took these proposals seriously, or thought that he did more by giving a vote on a Second Reading than pay an agreeable tribute to the lady workers in his own constituency.

The debate was closed by Lord Hugh Cecil, who contributed nothing serious to the discussion until the end of his speech, when he said:

> I am sure if a Liberal Prime Minister had by chance been an advocate of women suffrage it would have been passed into law by now—so near is the thing, as I conceive. Then would it not be better to settle this question by timely concession, which will restore that true atmosphere in which men and women ought to live, and which in the view of many, they never have: and it will restore the capacity for good, all that is essential in human nature, all that is noble and elevated, when the two sexes regard one another with reverence and respect, and can give back even to the fanatical majority that sense that they depend upon one another, whether suffragists or anti-suffragists, so that they may for the future live in the serene atmosphere which depends upon dignity, reverence, and mutual honour between the sexes.

IN THE LIBERAL PRESS

CHIVALRY AND THE VOTE

But, really, is it not time that we should give up the practice of talking as if our chivalry towards women were such a treasure and marvel that we must not move lest we overturn it and break it. . . . A few persons with beautiful manners are not seriously to be considered as an offset to the evil of an economic inferiority which ceaselessly presses tens of thousands of women down towards self-abandonment to a few years of degradation ending in an early and horrible death. But we need hardly argue these old points again. No doubt it was something very different from the Premier's arguments that defeated the Bill. . . . When argument was left to settle the matter, there was a strong majority for women's suffrage in the House of Commons. . . . It is melancholy for women suffragists to have to recognise the chief impediment to the cause in a body originally founded to promote it.—**Manchester Guardian.**

A SENSE OF WRONG

Mr. Asquith himself admits that the moral authority of any existing body of voters to deny the vote to an excluded class of citizens is very questionable; but he does not put up a stronger second bulwark when he leaves the justice of conceding the suffrage to be decided by the majority of women. . . . The appeal of the Anti-Suffragists to the voice of the majority—quite apart from the consideration that what that voice is must be a mere guess—is misconceived.—**Daily News.**

THE AWKWARD NEW ARGUMENT

The Bill was killed by the folly of the women's suffrage societies—not merely that of the militants, whose leaders have long given up tactics which advance the cause in favour of tactics which attract money, but that of Mrs. Fawcett and her friends, who had hitherto been the chief feminine force on which the cause depended. . . . There can be no question of a Government, which is half made up of convinced anti-suffragists and is kept in power by a substantial margin of votes cast by convinced anti-suffragists, introducing a Suffrage Bill. To suggest even that it should shows a naive and extraordinary unconsciousness of the most elementary principles of political and Parliamentary honour; and it is the recent exhibition of this by Mrs. Fawcett and those associated with her, which has given anti-suffragist opinion in the House of Commons such an awkward new argument.—**Daily Chronicle.**

IN THE TORY PRESS

HYPOCRISY?

The change in the political barometer cannot be mistaken. For some years past Bills for giving votes to women have passed the second reading with respectable and even large majorities. They may not have been intended to get any further, and we think there has been a good deal of hypocrisy on the part of some members who have voted for the second reading. But that success has now been reversed. . . . The point on which we wish to insist is that women themselves have turned back the tide that was apparently running in their favour, and, though we do not regret the fact, we do regret the means by which it has been brought about. —**Times.**

THE DEAR OLD ARGUMENT

Disappointed Suffragists will, no doubt, attribute this result to the tactics of the militants, and to the desire of the Nationalists to save the Government from embarrassment. But even if the so-called Dickinson Bill passed its second reading there could be no hope of its ever being placed on the Statute-book. For the present Parliament to force through a measure for the enfranchisement of women would be, as Lord Loreburn once said, a Constitutional outrage.—**Morning Post.**

FAMILIAR "SYMPATHY"

We should say, indeed, that Parliament was never less representative of the temper of the country than during the past two days, when it has presented itself as gravely—and eloquently—debating a subject that is referred to on every hand with disgust and indignation. . . . That this attitude should prevail entitles the earnest supporters of female enfranchisement both within and without the House of Commons to considerable sympathy. —**Daily Graphic.**

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL: ANALYSIS OF VOTING

M.P.'s who Voted for the Second Reading (221)

Acland, Francis Dyke (L)
Adamson, William (Lab)
Addison, Dr. C. (L)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte (U)
Ainsworth, John Stirling (L)
Alden, Percy (L)
Amery, L. C. M. S. (U)
Arnold, Sydney (L)
Atherley-Jones, Llewellyn A. (L)
Banner, John S. Harmood- (U)
Baring, Sir Godfrey (L)
Barlow, Sir John Emmott (L)
Barnes, George N. (Lab)
Barton, William (L)
Benn, W. W. (L)
Bennett-Goldney, Francis (U)
Bentham, G. L. (L)
Bentinck, Lord H. Cavendish (U)
Bethell, Sir J. H. (L)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine (L)
Boland, John Pius (N)
Boscawen, Sir Arthur S. T. Griffith- (U)
Bowerman, Charles W. (Lab)
Brace, William (Lab)
Buckmaster, Stanley O. (L)
Burt, Rt. Hon Thomas (L)
Buxton, Noel (L)
Buxton, Rt. Hon. Sydney C. (L)
Byles, Sir William Pollard (L)
Carr-Gomm, H. W. (L)
Cawley, Harold T. (L)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (U)
Cecil, Lord R. (U)
Chancellor, H. G. (L)
Chapple, Dr. William Allen (L)
Clough, William (L)
Clynes, J. R. (Lab)
Craig, Ernest (U)
Crawshay-Williams, Eliot (L)
Crooks, William (Lab)
Dalziel, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H. (L)
Davies, Ellis William (L)
Davies, Sir W. Howell (L)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (L)
Denman. Hon. Richard Douglas (L)
Dickinson, W. H. (L)
Duncan, C. (Lab)
Edwards, Sir Francis (L)
Edwards, John Hugh (L)
Falconer, J. (L)
Fell, Arthur (U)
Fenwick, Rt. Hon. Charles (L)
Ferens, Rt. Hon. Thomas Robinson (L)
George, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd (L)
Gilhooly, James (I N)
Gill, A. H. (Lab)
Ginnell, L. (N)
Glanville, H. J. (L)
Goldstone, Frank (Lab)
Gordon, Hon. John Edward (U)
Goulding, Edward Alfred (U)
Greig. Colonel James William (L)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward (L)
Griffith, Ellis Jones (L)
Guest, Hon. Frederick E. (L)
Gulland, John William (L)
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius (N)
Hall, Frederick (Lab)
Hancock, J. G. (Lab)
Harcourt, Robert V. (L)
Hardie, J. Keir (Lab)
Harvey, A. G. C. (L)
Harvey, T. T. (L)
Hazleton, Richard (N)
Healy, Maurice (I N)
Healy, Timothy Michael (I N)
Helme, Sir Norval Watson (L)
Hemmerde, Edward George (L)
Henderson, Arthur (Lab)
Higham, John Sharp (L)
Hinds, John (L)
Hodge, John (Lab)
Hogge, James Myles (L)
Holmes, Daniel Turner (L)
Holt, Richard Durning (L)
Hope, John Deans (L)
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey (L)
Hudson, Walter (Lab)
Hume-Williams, W. F. (U)
Isaacs, Rt. Hon. Sir Rufus (L)
John, Edward Thomas (L)
Johnson, W. (Lab)
Jones, Rt. Hon. Sir D. Brynmor (L)
Jones, Edgar R. (L)
Jones, H. Haydn (L)
Jones, J. Towyn (L)
Jones, Leif Stratten (L)
Jones. William (L)
Jones, W. S. Glyn- (L)
Jowett, Frederick William (Lab)
Kellaway, Frederick George (L)
King, Joseph (L)
Lambert, Richard (L)
Lawson, Hon H. (U)
Lawson, Sir W. (L)
Leach, Charles (L)
Lewis, John Herbert (L)
Lewisham, Viscount (U)
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas (L)
Lynch, A. A. (N)
Macdonald, J. R. (Lab)
Macdonald, J. M. (L)
Maclean, Donald (L)
Macnamara, Rt. Hon. Dr. T. J. (L)
M'Callum, Sir John M. (L)
M'Curdy, C. A. (L)
M'Laren, Hon. F. W. S. (L)
M'Micking, Major Gilbert (L)
Markham, Sir Arthur Basil (L)
Marshall, Arthur Harold (L)
Martin, Joseph (L)
Mason, David M. (L)
Masterman, Rt. Hon. C. F. G. (L)
Middlebrook, William (L)
Millar, James Duncan (L)
Mond, Sir Alfred Moritz (L)
Money, L. G. Chiozza (L)
Montagu, Hon. E. S. (L)
Needham, Christopher T. (L)
Neilson, Francis (L)
Nicholson, Sir Charles N. (L)
Norman, Sir Henry (L)
Norton, Captain Cecil W. (L)
Nuttall, Harry (L)
O'Brien, William (Cork) (I N)
O'Grady, James (Lab)
O'Shee, James John (N)
Outhwaite, R. L. (L)
Palmer, Godfrey Mark (L)
Parker, James (Lab)
Parry, Thomas H. (L)
Pearce, Robert (L)
Pearson, Hon. Weetman H. M. (L)
Pointer, Joseph (Lab)
Pollard, Sir George H. (L)
Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H. (L)
Price, C. E. (L)
Pryce-Jones, Colonel E. (U)
Radford, George Heynes (L)
Raffan, Peter Wilson (L)
Rea. Rt. Hon. Russell (L)
Rea, Walter Russell (L)
Redmond, William (N)
Rendall, Athelstan (L)
Richardson, Thomas (Lab)
Roberts, Charles H. (L)
Roberts, G. H. (Lab)
Roberts, Sir J. H. (L)
Roberts, S. (U)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (L)
Robinson, Sidney (L)
Roch, Walter F. (L)
Roe, Sir Thomas (L)
Rolleston, Sir John (U)
Rowlands, James (L)
Rowntree, Arnold (L)
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter (L)
Rutherford, Watson (U)
Samuel, J. (L)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel (I N)
Sherwell, Arthur James (L)
Shortt, Edward (L)
Simon, Rt. Hon. Sir John Allsebrook (L)
Smith, Albert (Lab)
Smith, H. B. L. (L)
Snowden, Philip (Lab)
Spicer, Rt. Hon. Sir Albert (L)
Stanier, Beville (U)
Stanley, Albert (Lab)
Strauss, Arthur (U)
Sutherland, J. E. (L)
Sutton, John E. (Lab)
Taylor, John W. (Lab)
Taylor, Theodore C. (L)
Tennant, Harold John (L)
Terrell, G. (U)
Thomas J. H. (Lab)
Thompson, Robert (U)
Thomson, W. Mitchell (U)
Thorne, G. R. (L)
Thorne, William (Lab)
Touche, George Alexander (U)
Toulmin, Sir George (L)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips (L)
Ure, Rt. Hon. Alexander (L)
Verney, Sir Harry (L)
Wadsworth, J. (Lab)
Walsh, Stephen (Lab)
Walters, Sir John Tudor (L)
Walton, Sir Joseph (L)
Ward, John (Lab)
Watt, Henry A. (L)
Webb, H. (L)
Wedgwood, Josiah C. (L)
White, J. Dundas (L)
White, Sir Luke (L)
White, Patrick (N)
Whitehouse, John Howard (L)
Whyte, A. F. (L)
Wiles, Thomas (L)
Williams, J. (Lab)
Williams, Llewelyn (L)
Williams, Penry (L)
Wilson, W. T. (Lab)
Wing, Thomas (L)
Wood, Rt. Hon. T. McKinnin (L)
Worthington-Evans, L. (U)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart- (U)
Yoxall, Sir James Henry (L)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Viscount Wolmer (U) and Mr. H. M'Laren (L).

M.P.'s who Voted Against the Second Reading (267)

Abraham, William (N)
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R. (L)
Agnew, Sir George William (L)
Allen, Rt. Hon. Charles P. (Stroud) (L)
Anson, Rt. Hon. Sir William R. (U)
Anstruther-Gray, Major William (U)
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry (L)
Baird, J. L. (U)
Baker, H. T. (L)
Baker, Sir R. L. (U)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George (U)
Barnston, Harry (U)
Barran, Rowland Hurst (L)
Bathurst, Hon. Allen B. (U)
Bathurst, Charles (U)
Beach, Hon. Michael Hugh Hicks (U)
Beauchamp, Sir Edward (L)
Beck, Arthur Cecil (L)
Beckett, Hon. Gervase (U)
Beresford, Lord C. (U)
Bigland, Alfred (U)
Bird A. (U)
Black, Arthur (L)
Blair, Reginald (U)
Booth, Frederick Handel (L)
Boyle, D. (N)
Brady, P. J. (N)
Brassey, H. Leonard Campbell (U)
Bridgeman, W. Clive (U)
Brocklehurst, W. B. (L)
Brunner, John F. L. (L)
Bryce, J. Annan (L)
Burdett-Coutts, W. (U)
Burke, E. Haviland- (N)
Butcher, John George (U)
Campion, W. R. (U)
Cator, John (U)
Cautley, H. S. (U)
Cecil, Evelyn (U)
Chaloner, Colonel R. G. W. (U)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry (U)
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S. (L)
Clancy, John Joseph (N)
Clay, Captain H. H. Spender (U)
Coates, Major Sir Edward Feetham (U)
Collins, G. P. (L)
Compton Rickett, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (L)
Condon, Thomas Joseph (N)
Cooper, Richard Ashmole (U)
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A. (L)
Cotton, William Francis (N)
Courthope, George Loyd (U)
Craig, Herbert J. (L)
Craik, Sir Henry (U)
Crichton-Stuart, Lord Ninian (U)
Cripps, Sir C. A. (U)
Croft, Henry Page (U)
Crumley. Patrick (N)
Cullinan, John (N)
Dalrymple, Viscount (U)
Dalziel, Davison (U)
Davies, David (L)
Davies, Timothy (L)
Dawes, J. A. (L)
Delany, William (N)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (L)
Dixon, C. H. (U)
Donelan, Captain A. (N)
Doris, William (N)
Du Cros, Arthur Philip (U)
Duffy, William J. (N)
Duncan, J. Hastings (L)
Elverston, Sir Harold (L)
Essex, Sir Richard Walter (L)
Eyres-Monsell, Bolton M. (U)
Farrell, James Patrick (N)
Ffrench, Peter (N)
Field, William (N)
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace Edward (L)
Finlay, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert (U)
Fitzgibbon, John (N)
Fitzroy, Hon. E. A. (U)
Flavin, Michael Joseph (N)
Fleming, Valentine (U)
France, G. A. (I)
Gastrell, Major W. H. (U)
Gibbs, G. A. (U)
Gilmour, Captain J. (U)
Gladstone, W. G. C. (L)
Glazebrook, Captain Philip K. (U)
Goldsmith, Frank (U)
Grant, J. A. (U)
Greene, W. R. (U)
Greenwood, Hamar (L)
Gretton, John (U)
Guest, Hon. Major C. H. C. (L)
Guinness, Hon. Rupert (U)
Guinness, Hon. W. E. (U)
Gwynne, R. S. (U)
Hackett, John (N)
Haddock, George Bahr (U)
Hall, Frederick (U)
Hambro, Angus Valdemar (U)
Hamilton, Lord C. J. (U)
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis (L)
Hardy, Rt. Hon. Laurence (U)
Harmsworth, R. L. (L)
Harris, Henry Percy (U)
Harrison-Broadley, H. B. (U)
Haslam, Lewis (L)
Havelock-Allan, Sir Henry (L)
Hayward, Evan (L)
Helmsley, Viscount (U)
Henderson, Major H. (U)
Henderson, J. M. (L)
Henry, Sir Charles (L)
Herbert, Hon. A. (U)
Hewins, William Albert Samuel (U)
Hibbert, Sir Henry F. (U)
Hickman, Colonel T. E. (U)
Hills, John Waller (U)
Hill-Wood, Samuel (U)
Hoare, S. J. G. (U)
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. Charles E. H. (L)
Hohler, G. F. (U)
Hope, James Fitzalan (U)
Horne, Edgar (U)
Horner, A. L. (U)
Hughes, Spencer Leigh (L)
Hunt, Rowland (U)
Hunter, Sir Charles Rodk. (U)
Jardine, E. (U)
Jardine, Sir J. (L)
Jessel, Captain H. M. (U)
Joyce, Michael (N)
Keating, Matthew (N)
Kelly, Edward (N)
Kennedy, Vincent Paul (N)
Kerry, Earl of (U)
Keswick, Henry (U)
Kilbride, Denis (N)
Kimber, Sir Henry (U)
Lane-Fox, G. R. (U)
Larmor, Sir J. (U)
Lee, Arthur H. (U)
Lloyd, George Ambrose (U)
Lloyd, George Butler (U)
Locker-Lampson, O. (U)
Lockwood, Rt. Hon. Lt.-Colonel A. R. (U)
Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (U)
Low, Sir Frederick (L)
Lowe, Sir F. W. (U)
Lundon, Thomas (N)
Lyell, Charles Henry (L)
Lyttelton, Hon. J. C. (U)
MacCaw, Wm. J. MacGeagh (U)
Mackinder, H. J. (U)
Macmaster, Donald (U)
MacNeill, J. G. Swift (N)
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (N)
McKenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald (L)
Magnus, Sir Philip (U)
Malcolm, Ian (U)
Mallaby-Deeley, Harry (U)
Manfield, Harry (L)
Marks, Sir George Croydon (L)
Mason, James F. (U)
Meagher, Michael (N)
Meehan, Francis E. (N)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham (U)
Molloy, M. (N)
Molteno Percy Alport (L)
Mooney, J. J. (N)
Morison, Hector (L)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas (L)
Mount, William Arthur (U)
Muldoon, John (N)
Munro-Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R. C. (L)
Murphy, Martin J. (N)
Murray, Captain Hon. A. C. (L)
Newdegate, F. A. (U)
Nicholson, William G. (U)
Nolan. Joseph (N)
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard (N)
O'Brien, Patrick (N)
O'Connor, John (N)
O'Connor, T. P. (N)
O'Doherty, Philip (N)
O'Donnell, Thomas (N)
O'Dowd, John (N)
O'Kelly, Edward P. (N)
O'Kelly, James (N)
O'Malley, William (N)
O'Neill, Dr. Charles (N)
O'Neill, Hon. A. E. B. (U)
O'Sullivan, Timothy (N)
Paget, Almeric Hugh (U)
Parkes, Ebenezer (U)
Pearce, William (L)
Pease, Rt. Hon. Joseph A. (L)
Perkins Walter Frank (U)
Peto, Basil Edward (U)
Philipps, Colonel Ivor (L)
Phillips, John (N)
Pirie, Duncan V. (L)
Pole-Carew, Sir R. (U)
Pollock, Ernest Murray (U)
Pretyman, E. G. (U)
Priestley, Sir Arthur (L)
Priestley, Sir W. E. B. (L)
Pringle, William M. R. (L)
Raphael, Sir Herbert H. (L)
Rawlinson, Sir John Frederick Peel (U)
Rawson, Col. R. H. (U)
Reddy, M. (N)
Redmond, John E. (N)
Redmond, William Archer (N)
Rees. Sir J. D. (U)
Roche, Augustine (N)
Rothschild, Lionel de (U)
Royds, Edmund (U)
Russell, Rt. Hon. Thomas W. (L)
Samuel, Sir Harry (U)
Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. L. (L)
Samuel, Sir Stuart M. (L)
Sandys, G. J. (U)
Scanlan, Thomas (N)
Scott, A. MacCallum (L)
Scott, Leslie (U)
Scott, Sir S. (U)
Seely, Rt. Hon. Colonel J. E. B. (L)
Sheehy. David (N)
Smith, Rt. Hon. F. E. (U)
Smith, Harold (U)
Smyth, Thomas F. (N)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley (L)
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (U)
Stanley, Hon. G. F. (U)
Starkey, John R. (U)
Staveley-Hill, Henry (U)
Stewart, Gershom (U)
Strauss, Edward A. (L)
Talbot, Lord E. (U)
Taylor, Thomas (L)
Terrell, Henry (U)
Thynne, Lord A. (U)
Tobin, Alfred Aspinall (U)
Tryon, Capt. George Clement (U)
Valentia, Viscount (U)
Walker, Col. William Hall (U)
Ward, W. Dudley (L)
Warde, Colonel C. E. (U)
Warner, Sir Thomas Courtenay (L)
Wason, Rt. Hon. E. (L)
Wason, John Cathcart (L)
Weigall, Captain A. G. (U)
Weston, Colonel J. W. (U)
Whittaker, Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas P. (L)
Williamson, Sir A. (L)
Willoughby, Major Hon. Claud (U)
Wills, Sir Gilbert (U)
Wilson, A. Stanley (U)
Wood, Hon. E. F. L. (U)
Wright, Henry Fitzherbert (U)
Yate, Colonel C. E. (U)
Young, William (L)
Younger, Sir George (U)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Arnold Ward (U) and Sir Maurice Levy (L).

LIST OF PAIRS

FOR THE BILL.	AGAINST.
Gelder, Sir A. (L)	Barran, Sir J. (L)
Beale, Sir W. P. (L)	Primrose, Hon. N. (L)
Logan, J. W. (L)	Goddard, Sir D. (L)
Morrell, P. (L)	Hay Morgan, G. (L)
Baker, J. A. (L)	Mills, Hon. C. T. (U)
Munro, R. (L)	Lambert, G. (L)
Walrond, Hon. W. (U)	Chamberlain, A. (U)
M'Neill, R. (U)	Sykes, A. J. (U)
Craig, J. (U)	Lonsdale, Sir J. (U)
Chambers, J. (U)	Fetherstonhaugh, G. (U)
De Forest, Baron (L)	McMordie, R. (U)
Barrie, H. T. (U)	Moore, W. (U)
Faber, W. (U)	Quilter, Sir W. (U)
Marshall-Hall, E. (U)	Parker, Sir G. (U)
Craig, C. (U)	Forster, H. W. (U)
Hope, H. (U)	Archer-Shee, M. (U)
Lamb, E. (L)	Houston, R. (U)
Wilson, Hon. G. (L)	Wheler, G. (U)
Yerburgh, R. (L)	Winterton, Lord (U)
Harvey, W. E. (Lab)	Hamersley, A. (U)
Astor, W. (U)	Nield, H. (U)
Ormsby-Gore, Hon. W. (U)	Castlereagh, Lord (U)
Haslam, J. (Lab)	Rutherford, J. (U)
Wilkie, A. (Lab)	Gardner, E. (U)

The following Members desired to be paired against the Bill, but pairs could not be found for them: Captain Morrison-Bell, Mr. J. Gordon, Mr. Jesse Collings, and Mr. I. H. Benn.

◆

HOW GOVERNMENT MEMBERS VOTED

FOR (7)	AGAINST (8)
Birrell, A.	Asquith, H. H.
Buxton, S. C.	Churchill, W. S.
George, D. Lloyd	Harcourt, L. V.
Grey, Sir E.	Hobhouse, C. E.
Isaacs, Sir R.	McKenna, R.
Runciman, W.	Pease, J. A.
Wood, T. McKinnon	Samuel, H. L.
	Seeley, J. E.

J. Burns was absent unpaired.

Of Ministers not in the Cabinet the following votes may be noted. For the Bill: F. D. Acland, Ellis Griffith, T. J. Macnamara, C. F. Masterman, E. S. Montagu, Sir J. A. Simon, and A. Ure. Against the Bill: T. W. Russell (voted) and G. Lambert (paired).

Members who were Absent Unpaired

Abraham, W. (Lab)
Adkins, W. R. (L)
Aitken, W. M. (U)
Allen, A. A. (L)
Armitage, R. (L)
Ashley, W. W. (U)
Baldwin, S. (U)
Balfour, A. J. (U)
Balfour, R. (L)
Baring, G. V. (U)
Barlow, C. M. (U)
Benn, A. S. (U)
Benn, I. H. (U)
Boles, D. F. (U)
Boyle, W. L. (U)
Boyton, J. (U)
Bull, W. J. (U)
Burgoyne, A. (U)
Burne, C. R. (U)
Burns, J. (L)
Campbell, D. F. (U)
Campbell, J. H. M. (U)
Carlile, E. H. (U)
Carson, E. H. (U)
Cassell, F. (U)
Cave, G. (U)
Cawley, F. (U)
Chamberlain, J. (U)
Clive, P. A. (U)
Clyde, J. A. (U)
Collings, J. (U)
Collins, S. (L)
Cory, C. J. (L)
Cowan, W. H. (L)
Craig, Norman (U)
Crean, E. (N)
Dennis, E. R. (U)
Devlin, J. (N)
Dillon, J. (N)
Doughty, G. (U)
Duke, H. E. (U)
Edwards, A. C. (L)
Esmond, J. (N)
Edmonds, T. G. (N)
Esslemont, G. B. (L)
Faber, G. D. (U)
Falle, B. G. (U)
Fisher, W. H. (U)
Flannery, J. F. (U)
Fletcher, J. S. (U)
Foster, P. F. (U)
Furness, S. (L)
Goldman, C. S. (U)
Gordon, J. (U)
Greenwood, G. G. (L)
Griffiths, J. N. (U)
Guiney, P. (I N)
Hall, D. B. (U)
Hayden, J. P. (N)
Hope, J. A. (U)
Horne, C. S. (L)
Illingworth, E. H. (L)
Ingleby, H. (U)
Jackson, J. (U)
Joynson-Hicks, W. (U)
Kebty-Fletcher, J. R. (U)
Kerr-Smiley, P. (U)
Kinloch-Cooke, C. (U)
Knight, E. A. (U)
Kyffin-Taylor, G. (U)
Lardner, J. C. (N)
Law, A. B. (U)
Law, H. A. (N)
Locker-Lampson, G. (U)
Lowther, Claude (U)
Lyttelton, A. (U)
McCalmont, J. (U)
McGhee, R. (N)
McKean, J. (N)
Macpherson, J. I. (L)
Maitland, A. D. S. (U)
Meehan, P. A. (N)
Menzies, W. (L)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C. (U)
Middlemore, J. C. (U)
Morrison-Bell, E. F. (U)
Morrison-Bell, A. C. (U)
Nannetti, J. T. (N)
Neville, R. J. (U)
Newman, J. P. (U)
Newton, H. K. (U)
Ogden, F. (L)
Orde-Powlett, W. G. (U)
O'Shaughnessy, T. J. (N)
Pease, H. P. (U)
Peel, R. F. (U)
Pirie, D. V. (L)
Price, R. J. (L)
Radcliffe, R. F. (U)
Remnant, J. S. (U)
Richards, T. (Lab)
Richardson, A. (L)
Robertson, J. M. (L)
Roche, J. (N)
Ronaldshay, Lord (U)
Salter, A. C. (U)
Sanders, R. A. (U)
Sanderson, L. (U)
Sassoon, P. (U)
Schwann, C. E. (L)
Scott-Dickson, C. (U)
Spear, J. W. (U)
Swift, R. (U)
Sykes, M. (U)
Tullibardine, Lord (U)
Walsh, J. (I N)
Wardle, G. J. (Lab)
Waring, W. (L)
Whitley, J. H. (L)
Williams, R. (U)
Wilson, J. (L)
Wilson, J. W. (L)
Winfrey, R. (L)
Wood, J. (U)
Wyndham, G. (U)
Young, Samuel (N)

A COMPARISON

The following table shows how the parties voted on the last three occasions when the House was divided on the Second Reading of a Suffrage Bill:—

HOW THE PARTIES VOTED ON MAY 5, 1911

FOR THE BILL.	Voted	Paired	Totals
Liberal	145	25	170
Unionist	53	25	78
Nationalist	31	—	31
Labour	26	5	31
AGAINST THE BILL.			
Liberal	36	12	48
Unionist	43	43	86
Nationalist	9	—	9
Labour	—	—	—

HOW THE PARTIES VOTED ON MARCH 28, 1912

FOR THE BILL.	Voted	Paired	Totals
Liberal	117	19	136
Unionist	63	13	76
National	3	—	3
Labour	25	2	27
AGAINST THE BILL.			
Liberal	71	9	80
Unionist	116	25	141
Nationalist	35	1	36
Labour	—	—	—

HOW THE PARTIES VOTED ON MAY 6, 1913

FOR THE BILL.	Voted	Paired	Totals
Liberal	145	10	155
Unionist	28	11	39
Nationalist	8	—	8
I. Nationalist	5	—	5
Labour	35	3	38
AGAINST THE BILL.			
Liberal	73	5	79
Unionist	139	19	159
Nationalist	55	—	55
I. Nationalist	—	—	—
Labour	—	—	—

WOMEN LIBERALS IN CONFERENCE

The annual council meetings of the Women's Liberal Federation began in the Horticultural Hall, Westminster, last Tuesday, and the opening day was characterised by spirited debates on Woman Suffrage. Several resolutions were discussed, and a good fight was put up by the supporters of those which sought to commit the Federation more definitely to the cause of women's enfranchisement. The followers of the President, the Countess of Carlisle, who consider it "illiberal" to limit the work of the Federations, proved to be in the majority, and the stronger resolutions were all lost; but the measure of the support for them showed a considerable advance on previous years.

The Tunbridge Wells Resolution

On behalf of the Tunbridge Wells Association, Mrs. Eva McLaren moved an amendment to the rules which would lay it down that "no Women's Liberal Association is eligible for affiliation who will not pledge itself to abstain from working for any Liberal candidate who is not able to satisfy the Executive Committee of the Association that he is determined if returned to Parliament to promote the enfranchisement of women by every means in his power." She made an impressive speech. They simply asked, she said, that women should be true to the constitution of the Federation. They had had a rude awakening recently, and had found that there was not a majority of Liberal members of Parliament in favour of the Suffrage. Women must give some sign that they knew what was being done and not being done. They lost a few adherents when they made women's suffrage one of the objects, but the Federation had never looked back since it did so. "You cannot get round me," she declared, "by telling me that you are going to help the suffrage by working for a candidate who is against the suffrage. How weary I am of that parrot-cry, 'I am a Liberal first and a suffragist afterwards.' Your hold on the Liberal party will be strengthened in proportion as you insist on what you believe to be true—namely, that the suffrage is a debt long overdue from the Liberal party."

Leaving the Federation in Scores

Mrs. McLaren made a profound impression when she told the delegates that women were leaving the Federation in scores. "Do not undervalue their leaving," she said earnestly. "It cannot be ignored. They are leaving, not here and there, but in scores; and they are excellent women, many of those who have worked the hardest for the Federation—women who feel they can no longer work with a Federation who may continue to support members who, while thinking that a vote is the first asset for a man, argue that women can do without it. It is you who are driving out these women," she went on. "Don't tell me you can be a good Liberal and be against the suffrage. Did the men when they wanted the vote join suffrage societies? No, they got it from within the Liberal party—as we shall. It is a good thing to have freedom for ourselves," she concluded, "but it is a million times better to work for the freedom of others."

A Policy of Self-Respect

Mrs. F. D. Acland, speaking on the same side, said there was no doubt that the suffrage was in low water at present, and one reason why faster progress was not made was that Liberal members in the House were constantly being appealed to not to embarrass the Government. Many women Liberals felt that they could no longer remain within a Federation which was partly financed from associations that worked for anti-suffragists. Many Liberal members had felt free to go back on their pledges because another set of women had lost their heads and taken to futile violence, which she deplored as much as anyone. But militancy was no reason why they should adopt a policy of timidity and self-suppression. By a vigorous policy in the constituencies they might turn the scale in a sufficient number of constituencies to make all the difference. "This is not a policy of menace—it is a policy of self-respect." She was more and more convinced that a party majority was necessary to carry a Bill through.

"Freedom"

Lady Dorothy Howard, opposing the resolution, made a curious appeal for "freedom of method and action," which she construed as the retention of members in the Federation who desired to work for other things than Woman Suffrage; and Miss Bertha Mason supported the motion, saying, "Liberalism is far better than party." An interesting and significant piece of information was supplied by Mrs. Heron Maxwell, who said that there were thirty-six Women's Liberal Associations in forty-two constituencies represented by anti-suffragist Liberal members of Parliament.

Miss Alison Garland, also supporting the resolution, said incidentally, "John Redmond has put Home Rule for Ireland before everything else. We ask you to put Home Rule for women before anything else. If Mr. Redmond came here to speak this afternoon every woman would applaud him to the echo."

To this Lady Carlisle rather unexpectedly replied: "I hope not! He and fifty-five Nationalists are voting against us to-night."

The feeling of revolt in the Federation was shown several times by interruptions from the listening delegates, and when Mrs. Wyles asked: "Are we strong enough to strike?" there were cries and counter-cries of "Yes" and "No," all over the hall.

The resolution was lost by 629 votes to 298.

The West Bristol Resolution

Another resolution, round which a fight raged, was sent up by the West Bristol branch, and was intended to make it possible for those associations which refused to put Woman Suffrage first to remain affiliated to the Federation. A good deal of feeling was shown during the debate on this resolution. Mrs. Heron Maxwell roused cheers by saying: "You talk of freedom. Which of us is free so long as we have not the vote?"

Mrs. Stewart Brown said that the suffrage situation had changed so radically that it was no longer possible to remain "as we are." She added, "I would rather support a Labour candidate than I would an anti-suffragist."

Miss Slack, supporting the resolution, declared the Government had not betrayed the women's cause, and the Prime Minister had not broken his pledge. This raised an instant storm of denials and cheers. When the resolution was finally put, it was declared carried by the President, and a division was not taken.

Another Rejected Resolution

Another rejected resolution was one proposing that no official organiser should be sent to help a candidate unless he was prepared to support not only the principle, but also "every measure of women's suffrage which the Federation is prepared to support." Mrs. Walter Rea, in opposing this, said that sixteen suffragist members of Parliament had told her they would not consent to be bound by such a pledge. The delegates followed the lead of the Executive, and voted against the resolution.

Passed Unanimously

The one resolution passed unanimously was one calling upon the Coalition members to vote for the second reading of the Bill then under discussion in the House of Commons. "This Council," the resolution went on, "further trusts that Liberal members will do all in their power to secure such a substantial majority for the Bill as to ensure its speedy passage into law, and records its conviction that nothing short of the serious support of a large majority of Liberal members will satisfy the aspiration of Liberal women, whose deepest political convictions are bound up with their claim not only to be accorded the fundamental rights of free citizens, but to have that claim recognised by law through the efforts of Liberals who believe in democratic administration."

AFTER THE SECOND READING

An Urgency Resolution

When the Council met again on Wednesday morning, the atmosphere was charged with electricity. Some attempt was made to proceed with the business on the agenda, but it was not long before Mrs. Alderton (Colchester) voiced the general feeling by calling out, "What steps are the executive going to take with regard to what happened last night?" This was greeted with loud cheers, and Lady Carlisle replied that a resolution was being framed that should be "short, crisp, decisive, and indignant." Her further remark, that she wished to dissociate the Irish people from the "fifty-five members and leader who betrayed us last night," because she knew that every pressure had been brought to bear upon them to induce them to vote, was instantly challenged by Mrs. Acland with the fiery question, "In which direction has pressure been brought to bear upon their vote?"

The Resolution

The resolution, when framed, ran as follows:—

"That the Council of the W.L.F. has received with consternation the result of the division in the House of Commons on the Representation of the People (Women) Bill. The W.L.F. regards it as a most serious menace to democratic progress and freedom of self government that there should be seventy-six Liberal M.P.'s found to vote against the application of Liberal principles to the whole of a sex."

It was passed unanimously, and a speech from Mrs. Eva McLaren was loudly called for. The outburst of cheers that greeted her response to this demand caused her to remark that she wished they cared as much for Woman Suffrage as for her. "Can't you put some real, real feeling into this fight for freedom?" she asked. "There is no excuse for the men who have betrayed us. An Englishman's pledge to a woman ought to be as good as his pledge to a man. . . . It is your own fault you have not got the vote; the women Liberals have it in their own hands to get it. Blame nobody but yourselves. You don't care enough about it, or you would have had it long ago."

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ACTRESSES AND THE VOTE

The Actresses' Franchise League held a mass meeting at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on May 2. Lady Willoughby de Broke moved the following resolution from the chair:—

"That this Meeting, believing that the removal of the political disabilities of the women of the country is the most urgently needed of all reforms, strongly condemns the manner in which the Government has dealt with this great question. It calls upon the Prime Minister to remove his personal veto, and to fulfil his pledge (made to the Actresses' Franchise and other Suffrage Leagues on November 17, 1911, and subsequently confirmed by him in writing) in the only possible way, by bringing in a Government Measure, by which alone the present deplorable state of disorder can be prevented, and the women of the country enfranchised."

During the meeting a collection was taken, which realised considerably over £300.

THE SPEECHES

Lady Willoughby de Broke

Lady Willoughby de Broke, after tracing the influence of women upon the drama since the period of the restoration, said it was not only in the theatre that the advancement of women had proceeded. Some people said that women ought not to take part in politics, but it could not be too often repeated that if politics was merely a game between the ins and the outs, then the sooner women stepped in and broke up the game the better.

Miss Gertrude Elliott, seconding the resolution, said that while actresses shared equally with actors the rewards and fortunes of stage life they could not forget that other women were not so fortunate, and as long as any women were under economic disability it was a matter of concern to them.

"Militant in Spirit and Expression"

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett said that she was "awfully militant in spirit and dreadfully militant in expression," and though she could not defend the militants at that meeting, which was a constitutional one, yet, with Heaven's help, she would never repudiate them. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) She aroused further enthusiasm by her vigorous attack on the Government, in the course of which she said: "When you torpedo conciliation you create warfare." She then made a rousing appeal for funds, with the result recorded above.

Mrs. Chapman Catt, President of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, briefly reviewed woman's position in many countries.

Miss Compton, in a very amusing speech, said she wanted a vote because she paid income tax; she had a share in the British Empire, Limited. She did not know whether to regard that as a gamble or as an investment, but, either way, she did not like the board of directors, and yet her hands were tied, and she could not depose them without a vote.

An Unsympathetic Speech

Miss Irene Vanbrugh, after saying that she was going to play a part disliked by all actresses, an unsympathetic one, said she must state that she did not at all approve of militant methods. At once, all the latent militant feeling in the audience found expression, and loud cries of "No!" from all parts of the house, including the platform, were followed by cheers for the militants.

Miss Eva Moore spoke with great feeling of crimes against little girls, backing her stirring appeal with real facts and statistics, which greatly moved her audience.

To Conquer Freedom

Madame Lydia Yavorska said "I come from a country where tyranny reigns supreme. I have heard Conservatives say that we Russians are not ready for freedom; if you come to that, no one is ready for freedom. Freedom does not come by the grace of heaven—freedom has to be conquered." It seemed, she said, an incomprehensible thing that the English people who have always been in the forefront of the free, should refuse to make their women citizens. "In our Revolution," Madame Yavorska continued, "the most responsible parts were carried out by women. The Russian Government hangs women political offenders as well as men." She marvelled that a Government perpetrating these atrocities should receive the support and alliance of England, and concluded, "I trust when English women have votes this alliance will be put an end to."

Miss Lena Ashwell, who urged the helplessness of the sweated worker, begged her audience at this great moment not to be put off by any criticism of anybody. (Loud applause.) The vital thing was to keep in mind every hour of the day the tremendous importance of getting the vote.

Miss Lind-af-Hageby pointed out that the meeting held divergent views as to methods of fighting for the vote, but everyone, she thought, gloried in the devotion shown by women to the cause, and believed that it was going to bear fruit.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. LANSBURY SENTENCED TO THREE MONTHS

Appeal to be Heard in the High Court—Bail Allowed

In spite of the argument raised by his counsel against the application of the Statute of Edward III., Mr. Lansbury was ordered by the magistrate at Bow Street on Saturday last to be bound over to be of good behaviour for twelve months; on his refusal he was sentenced to prison for three months. The magistrate, however, consented to state a case for the High Court, and in the interim to release Mr. Lansbury on bail. In view of the conspiracy charges against Mrs. Drummond and Miss Kenney, the incitement cases against them were adjourned sine die.

The importance of the question to be argued before the High Court is very much greater than a mere technical question of the application of a particular Statute or of the common law. The question is whether it is possible for the Government to obtain a verdict on such an offence as incitement from a police magistrate. Normally such offences come before a jury who may be trusted to place a reasonable and fair interpretation upon words used in the course of a speech. But if the view of the Government is upheld, then by the simple expedient of asking that a public speaker be bound over to keep the peace—which it is known in advance that many speakers who wish to preach a vigorous gospel will refuse to do—it becomes possible to send a speaker to prison by an order of a police magistrate not subject to revision.

Last Saturday Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond, and Mr. George Lansbury were again brought up at Bow Street Police Court on charges of making speeches inciting to violence. Mr. Bodkin prosecuted; Mr. Muir defended the women defendants, and Mr. Lansbury was represented by Mr. Theobald Mathew and Mr. E. Atherley-Jones.

Mr. Bodkin, having asked, in view of the other charges against Mrs. Drummond and Miss Kenney, that the proceedings against them be adjourned *sine die*, these defendants left the court, waving to their friends as they went.

The case against Mr. Lansbury was afterwards taken.

MR. BODKIN OPENS THE CASE

Mr. Bodkin said the speeches in his case were made on January 5, February 23, and April 10, and were of a most inflammatory character, inciting to a continuation of criminal acts. It would appear they were so interpreted by those who heard them, and others who heard them, by reason of the large number of crimes since the utterance of those speeches. He asked that the defendant should enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour, in order to ensure that from him, at any rate, there was no repetition of such dangerous speeches.

THE EVIDENCE

In the course of the evidence it was stated that the names of Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna had been received at the Albert Hall with booing. Some women at the back of the court having laughed at this, Mr. Bodkin asked the magistrate: "Is it right, sir, that the name of the Prime Minister of this country should be received with laughter by people in this court? As I have said before, some people do not know how to behave either outside or inside a court of justice."

Evidence was further given of various acts of damage to property following upon the speeches of the defendant.

MR. LANSBURY IN THE WITNESS-BOX

Mr. Lansbury then went into the witness-box, and, replying to Mr. Mathew, said he had been a Member of Parliament, and was now a Borough Councillor and a member of the Board of Guardians. He was not, and never had been, a member of the Women's Social and Political Union.

Do you uphold the cause of Votes for women?—Yes: I gave up my seat in Parliament for it. I have made a large number of speeches on behalf of the cause for all the societies.

In these have you ever incited persons to commit crimes?—In my view I have not.

Mr. Lansbury was then questioned about the police reports of his speeches, and said they were not fair representations of what he said. At the Bow Baths, he said, his whole argument was that proceedings were not taken against Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson, who had been guilty of much worse crimes and had not been prosecuted. At the Albert Hall he appealed to men to organise themselves into a militant league to defend women from the brutal and outrageous conduct of people in the parks. He had not been a frequent user of the W.S.P.U. offices.

Mr. Bodkin: Do you swear that you have not stopped there for long times, using it as a convenience for writing letters?—I will swear that is not true.

In any one of your speeches have you advised them not to commit crimes?—I have not advised them to commit crimes or not to commit crimes. I consider they are better able to manage their own affairs.

Are you in complete sympathy with acts of violence of all kinds?—Not with violence of all kinds. But I don't condemn the women because people drive them to commit crimes, especially the Government. I am not called upon to be their censor.

Mr. Bodkin: Or their adviser?—I am not their adviser.

In further cross-examination he said he was the chairman of the *Daily Herald*, but not the editor, and had nothing to do with the bringing out of the paper.

Mr. Bodkin: Don't affect ignorance, Mr. Lansbury. Have you ever considered whether speeches like yours, putting yourself up as a public man, lead to offences of this kind?—I have not put myself up as a public man.

Have you ever considered whether speeches such as yours, and your speeches, conduce to the commission of crimes?—Yes.

And do they?—No.

That is your deliberate opinion?—Yes.

THE DEFENCE

Mr. Mathew addressed the magistrate on the interpretation of the old statute under which the prosecution was taken, and submitted that the defendant could not be bound over, as a mistake had been made in the transcription from the original statute roll.

The Magistrate's Powers

The magistrate said the point was an interesting one, but in his view it was not necessary for him to decide what was the correct view of the statute. He was quite clear that, whether the statute did or did not apply, he had full jurisdiction by virtue of his commission of the peace, and he should require sureties for the defendant's good behaviour if he thought the facts before him required him to take that course. In that view he was supported by old and modern text-writers and by the decision of the Courts having the matter under consideration. The question was—Had anything been said or done by the defendant which made it necessary to require him to find sureties for his good behaviour?

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MR. LANSBURY SENTENCED TO THREE MONTHS

Appeal to be Heard in the High Court—Bail Allowed

In spite of the argument raised by his counsel against the application of the Statute of Edward III., Mr. Lansbury was ordered by the magistrate at Bow Street on Saturday last to be bound over to be of good behaviour for twelve months; on his refusal he was sentenced to prison for three months. The magistrate, however, consented to state a case for the High Court, and in the interim to release Mr. Lansbury on bail. In view of the conspiracy charges against Mrs. Drummond and Miss Kenney, the incitement cases against them were adjourned sine die.

The importance of the question to be argued before the High Court is very much greater than a mere technical question of the application of a particular Statute or of the common law. The question is whether it is possible for the Government to obtain a verdict on such an offence as incitement from a police magistrate. Normally such offences come before a jury who may be trusted to place a reasonable and fair interpretation upon words used in the course of a speech. But if the view of the Government is upheld, then by the simple expedient of asking that a public speaker be bound over to keep the peace—which it is known in advance that many speakers who wish to preach a vigorous gospel will refuse to do—it becomes possible to send a speaker to prison by an order of a police magistrate not subject to revision.

Last Saturday Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond, and Mr. George Lansbury were again brought up at Bow Street Police Court on charges of making speeches inciting to violence. Mr. Bodkin prosecuted; Mr. Muir defended the women defendants, and Mr. Lansbury was represented by Mr. Theobald Mathew and Mr. E. Atherley-Jones.

Mr. Bodkin, having asked, in view of the other charges against Mrs. Drummond and Miss Kenney, that the proceedings against them be adjourned *sine die*, these defendants left the court, waving to their friends as they went.

The case against Mr. Lansbury was afterwards taken.

MR. BODKIN OPENS THE CASE

Mr. Bodkin said the speeches in his case were made on January 5, February 23, and April 10, and were of a most inflammatory character, inciting to a continuation of criminal acts. It would appear they were so interpreted by those who heard them, and others who heard them, by reason of the large number of crimes since the utterance of those speeches. He asked that the defendant should enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour, in order to ensure that from him, at any rate, there was no repetition of such dangerous speeches.

THE EVIDENCE

In the course of the evidence it was stated that the names of Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna had been received at the Albert Hall with booing. Some women at the back of the court having laughed at this, Mr. Bodkin asked the magistrate: "Is it right, sir, that the name of the Prime Minister of this country should be received with laughter by people in this court? As I have said before, some people do not know how to behave either outside or inside a court of justice."

Evidence was further given of various acts of damage to property following upon the speeches of the defendant.

MR. LANSBURY IN THE WITNESS-BOX

Mr. Lansbury then went into the witness-box, and, replying to Mr. Mathew, said he had been a Member of Parliament, and was now a Borough Councillor and a member of the Board of Guardians. He was not, and never had been, a member of the Women's Social and Political Union.

Do you uphold the cause of Votes for women?—Yes. I gave up my seat in Parliament for it. I have made a large number of speeches on behalf of the cause for all the societies.

In these have you ever incited persons to commit crimes?—In my view I have not.

Mr. Lansbury was then questioned about the police reports of his speeches, and said they were not fair representations of what he said. At the Bow Baths, he said, his whole argument was that proceedings were not taken against Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson, who had been guilty of much worse crimes and had not been prosecuted. At the Albert Hall he appealed to men to organise themselves into a militant league to defend women from the brutal and outrageous conduct of people in the parks. He had not been a frequent user of the W.S.P.U. offices.

Mr. Bodkin: Do you swear that you have not stopped there for long times, using it as a convenience for writing letters?—I will swear that is not true.

In any one of your speeches have you advised them not to commit crimes?—I have not advised them to commit crimes or not to commit crimes. I consider they are better able to manage their own affairs.

Are you in complete sympathy with acts of violence of all kinds?—Not with violence of all kinds. But I don't condemn the women because people drive them to commit crimes, especially the Government. I am not called upon to be their censor.

Mr. Bodkin: Or their adviser?—I am not their adviser.

In further cross-examination he said he was the chairman of the *Daily Herald*, but not the editor, and had nothing to do with the bringing out of the paper.

Mr. Bodkin: Don't affect ignorance, Mr. Lansbury. Have you ever considered whether speeches like yours, putting yourself up as a public man, lead to offences of this kind?—I have not put myself up as a public man.

Have you ever considered whether speeches such as yours, and your speeches, conduce to the commission of crimes?—Yes.

And do they?—No.

That is your deliberate opinion?—Yes.

THE DEFENCE

Mr. Mathew addressed the magistrate on the interpretation of the old statute under which the prosecution was taken, and submitted that the defendant could not be bound over, as a mistake had been made in the transcription from the original statute roll.

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THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGE

Nine Defendants at Bow Street—Police Evidence—Prosecuting Counsel's Opening Speech

As we announced in our last issue, six of the permanent officials of the Women's Social and Political Union were arrested as a result of the Government's raid upon the headquarters in Kingsway on Wednesday in last week. To these were afterwards added Miss Annie Kenney, arrested on her return from France on Thursday morning, and two men, making the list of defendants as follows—

Mrs. Flora Drummond, general organiser of the Women's Social and Political Union.

Mrs. Beatrice H. Sanders, financial secretary.

Miss Rachael Barrett, assistant editor of the *Suffragette* newspaper.

Miss Laura Geraldine Lennox, sub-editor.

Miss Agnes Lake, business manager of the *Suffragette*.

Miss Harriet Roberta Kerr, manageress of the offices.

Miss Annie Kenney, organiser.

Mr. Edwy Godwin Clayton, scientific chemist and author, of Kew Road, Richmond; and

Mr. Sidney Granville Drew, manager and secretary of the company that printed the issue of the *Suffragette* dated May 2.

All nine defendants were brought up before Mr. Curtis Bennett at Bow Street Police Court last Friday morning, and charged with conspiring together and with Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and other women, members of the Women's Social and Political Union, to maliciously damage property to the extent of £5 and upwards.

Mr. Bodkin, Mr. Travers Humphreys, and Mr. William Lewis conducted the case on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions; Mr. J. McDonald Cobban, solicitor, appeared for Drew, and Mr. R. D. Muir for the other defendants. Sir Charles Mathews, the Director of Public Prosecutions, occupied a seat on the bench.

Mr. Bodkin said he was going to ask the magistrate for a little further time in order that he might have an opportunity of dealing with the great amount of material there was. He proposed to postpone his opening statement to some future occasion, and merely to prove the arrest of Clayton and Drew, and to call evidence as to speeches made by some of the prisoners, or by persons with whom they were alleged to have conspired.

EVIDENCE OF ARREST

Detective-Inspector Hawkins gave evidence of having searched the flat occupied by Miss Kenney and Miss Barrett. He found a book called "Bristol Riots, 1831," and inside it some loose papers. He also found a card headed "Wednesday, 9.30 p.m." These led him to arrest Mr. E. G. Clayton on the following day (Thursday). He admitted having written the card; when formally charged at Bow Street he made no reply.

The Papers Read in Court

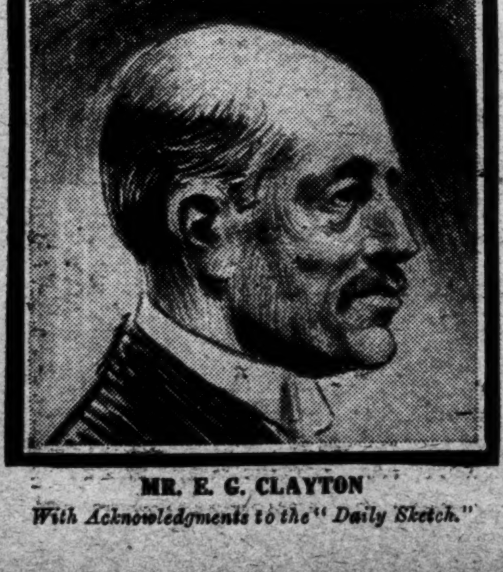
Mr. Bodkin then read the card mentioned, which was as follows:—

"Dear Miss Kenney,—I am sorry to say that it will be several days yet before I can be ready with that which you wanted. I have devoted all this evening and part of yesterday evening to the business without success. Evidently a difficult matter, but not impossible. I firmly believe, galling as it is to have to write it, I nearly succeeded once last night, and then spoilt what I did in trying to improve upon it. By next week I shall be able to manage. The exact proportions are very important to hit, evidently. I will let you have results as soon as I think them good enough. Please burn this. With best wishes, and earnestly hoping you are much better, I am yours very sincerely,

"EDWY G. CLAYTON.

"P.S.—I am awfully disappointed at having to keep you waiting longer than I anticipated."

Other papers were also read in court. The first one was headed, "Various Suggestions"; these included the simultaneous smashing of a number of fire alarms, and gave particulars of Government offices where entry might be effected and "something might be done." On the back of this document was Mr. Clayton's name and address.



MR. E. G. CLAYTON
With Acknowledgments to the "Daily Sketch."

The second document related to timber yards left unprotected at night; the third to cotton mills, mostly in the north of England, and the fourth to the offices of the National Health Insurance Commission in Buckingham Gate, of which elaborate particulars were given, also to the branch offices in Queen Anne's Gate.

Evidence of Mr. Drew's arrest having been given by Chief-inspector Fowler, Mr. Muir said he had only just been instructed, and did not propose to cross-examine at present. Shorthand notes were then produced of speeches made by Mrs. Drummond, Miss Kenney, and others, and the hearing was adjourned till Monday.

Bail was allowed in the case of Miss Lennox, who was ill, and Mr. Drew. The others were remanded in custody.

CASE OPENED FOR THE PROSECUTION

MR. BODKIN'S SPEECH

Last Monday the nine defendants were again brought up at Bow Street, and the case was opened for the prosecution.

Mr. Bodkin said the defendants were charged with a conspiracy extending from October of last year to commit damage to property in various ways. That charge would no doubt be supplemented upon the evidence by charges of incitement to commit such offences and of inciting people to conspire to commit offences. The defendants were charged with conspiring together and with Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and other women members of what was called, although it had no legal existence, the Women's Social and Political Union. The case for the prosecution was that this organisation existed not necessarily solely, but mainly, for the procuring of the commission of crimes against property.

The Defendants Described

Saying that he would deal more specifically with its objects presently, when he would quote the "official organ" of the Union, counsel explained that his opening address might not be complete, as a number of the documents seized at the headquarters had not yet been examined. He then referred to Mrs. Sanders as the lady who managed the finances of the Union—a very important post. The banking account of the Union up to a time towards the early part of last month stood in her name, and documents of considerable importance were found in her room. "Miss Kerr," he added, "has signed some letters as acting secretary, and is, I believe, the business manager of the concern. There will be produced, as having been found in her possession also, some documents of a very startling character."

Rebuking the defendants for smiling at this statement, Mr. Bodkin went on to say that these documents showed to what lengths people could bring themselves to go in furtherance of crime and the annoyance of their fellow-subjects. Miss Kerr could also be proved to have given orders for the printing of various matters both for the paper and for leaflets.

Counsel then referred to Mrs. Drummond as a "violent and unscrupulous woman," known in the Union as "the General," and the "possessor of some kind of uniform." (Here Mrs. Drummond laughed outright.) Miss Kenney counsel described as an organiser, who "is, or considers herself to be, a speaker," and has taken part in meetings at which inflammatory speeches have been uttered. The other three women defendants having been shown to be connected with the editorial and literature department of the Union, Mr. Bodkin proceeded to speak of the two men defendants.

The Men Defendants

Mr. E. G. Clayton, he said, was an analytical chemist, a Fellow of the Institute of Chemists, and a Fellow of the Chemical Society, with a laboratory, and a person who ostensibly was following a great, and, in these days, most useful profession. The evidence would show that for months past he has been one of the most active conspirators—although not a member of it—of this union, connected locally with the Richmond Branch, and has thought it right in support and in furtherance of the unlawful methods and objects of the Union to put his knowledge and his brain at their disposal, for the purpose of carrying out crimes, and of producing what is described in the newspaper itself as "The Reign of Terror in London."

The defendant Drew was a printer by occupation, manager of a company called the Victoria House Printing Company, Limited, of Tudor House, Tudor Street. So far as was known, he had, prior to Thursday of last week, no connection with the W.S.P.U. at all. But, after the warning which had been given in reference to the publication of the *Suffragette*, to the effect that a printer or publisher of the paper would lay himself open to proceedings, Mr. Drew, after having read every line of what afterwards appeared, undertook, with some three or four female members of the Union, the production of the *Suffragette* of May 2.

"Therefore," Mr. Bodkin went on, "I could agree that the defendant Drew has joined his printing knowledge to the general purposes of this union at a very late date."

The Absent Leaders

Having referred to the absence of Mrs. Pankhurst, "for excellent reasons," counsel spoke of Miss Christabel Pankhurst as "a fugitive from justice, who actively controls, advises, and supports the unlawful work of the union in this country from the safe and not uncomfortable seclusion of Paris, and week by week there comes over to this country what is called a leading article, which is either in commendation of what has happened in the past week or is an incitement to further acts in the future. Between Miss Christabel Pankhurst in Paris and many of the defendants, Miss Kerr, Miss Lake, Mrs. Drummond, and Miss Barrett there is communication by letter, for letters from Miss Christabel Pankhurst were found either on, or in the rooms of, those defendants. I include also Miss Kenney."

The "Suffragette"

Producing the first number of the *Suffragette*, "The Press of this country," said counsel, "is one of which we are all proud, conducted as it is with responsibility and ability; but this is not the Press, but is more an organ for criminal conspiracy." He then read the following quotation from the issue of October 18:—

"The only limit that the Union puts on militancy is that human life shall be respected. In what other revolution is that limit put aside? . . . The W.S.P.U. gives the call to battle, and those who have the free souls of the warrior will answer that call."

In another number, under the signature of Christabel Pankhurst, was an article enunciating the policy of the Union, and practically every number, he added, contained a similar statement.

Mr. Bodkin proceeded to divide the period of six months into two parts; taking the first part as from October till January 27, and made a reference to the Albert Hall meeting on October 17, at which Mrs. Pankhurst said: "There is something the Government care for far more than they care for human life, and that is the security of property. . . . Those of you who can break windows break them."

On the same occasion Mr. Lansbury spoke, but "the only point in his speech was the following truism—'All that some or most of the politicians ever do is to talk.'"

The Franchise Bill

Coming to the introduction of the Franchise Bill, counsel remarked that it appeared imprudent and impolitic to Mrs. Pankhurst to let outrages of such an exasperating kind continue whilst Parliament was discussing the Bill, and, to show the character of the organisation and the power that Mrs. Pankhurst and those immediately connected with her had over the methods of the Union, in the issue of the "Suffragette" of January 13 was the following sentence: "There is not going to be any more militancy until the last amendment is debated."

Several extracts from speeches were then read, including the following passage from one by Miss Annie Kenney, described by counsel as "scandalous"—

"Wanted! good window smashers. That is what we want. You know that every woman ought not to go out without a hammer in her pocket." These speeches, said counsel, always had the one text—to make the life of the ratepayer and taxpayer so intolerable that he would be induced to give the women what they wanted.

"An Organ of Crime"

Dealing with the *Suffragette*, counsel declared that the leading articles had their effect, "and in London alone there was some £7,000 or £8,000 damage to plate-glass windows, while 560 letter-boxes, and 8,400 letters were damaged. When such a paper, with such avowed objects as these, recorded, as the only matter of interest apparently, the doings of miscreants like these, together with articles inciting the continuance of such a state of things, I say that I was justified a few minutes ago in saying that this publication is not a part of the legitimate Press of the country. It is an organ of crime. It incites to crime, and should not be published. It is a totally different thing, as a mere incident in the day's news, for the legitimate Press to record the happening of an outrage of this sort, because it is a matter of interest to the public to see the latest outrage by these people, who have no regard for property."

Mr. Bodkin then asked where the defendants got their knowledge of chemicals. "We did not know until these documents were seized that they had an analytical chemist in their ranks—a man who, as we know, writes a secret letter which the vain folly of Miss Kenney leaves upon her bedroom dressing-table, in which he tells her—and you will see presently how he has been working for money for these people—that he is experimenting, on the brink of success, but some little thing fails. It is indeed a terrible thing that a man should prostitute his knowledge for such purposes as these, and still more pitiable is it to think that there are women who might have been of influence and of use to the community as a good example to their sex, who could have conspired to do such wicked acts as those letters from Clayton to Miss Kenney indicate that they had in their minds to do."

Counsel went on to question the Suffragette contention that they always respected human life, saying that "but for the accident of the blowing out of a candle twelve decent English workmen might have been killed or injured by the explosion in the house at Walton-on-the-Hill. Again, if somebody, with fiendish ingenuity, were to disorganise the fire-alarms at the same moment and burn the timber yards, what would be the result in a crowded place like London?"

He read aloud some of the headlines from the *Suffragette*, and alluded to the photographs of gutted mansions, with a copy of the publication shown among the ruins; and also gave extracts from speeches delivered at the Albert Hall after Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

On April 18 the *Suffragette* contained a report of this meeting, and the printers, for the first time in the paper's history, blacked out portions of Mr. Lansbury's speech. But they must have overlooked a passage in the reported remarks of Mrs. Drummond, in which she declared that although the constitutional work of the Union cost a lot of money, it did not cost much to buy paraffin oil and shavings.

The Raid on the W.S.P.U.

Coming to the raid on the headquarters last week, Mr. Bodkin said a list of members and the subscription fund had been seized, also "a nice collection of hammers," and documents, the majority of which were receipts. "But they were receipts for money paid by the Union to members who have been convicted of crimes, and who thus qualify to become pensioners of the society. Weekly sums were doled out, and receipts were given. There was a book recording the names of persons convicted and their aliases, but that, unfortunately, had only got as far as the B's."

A Suggestion from Germany

A document found in Miss Kerr's room was next produced. It was a letter from an engineer of Hamburg, giving particulars of a sneezing powder, and outlining a plan for its extensive use by members of the Union. "Whether," added Mr. Bodkin, "the sort of epidemic of sneezing which broke out at the Central Criminal Court about six weeks ago had anything to do with this, I don't know. It may be a mere coincidence."

At this point Mrs. Drummond appeared to be greatly amused, and Mr. Curtis Bennett said to her: "I must ask you, please, to behave yourself, and remember where you are. It is perfectly disgusting."

Mrs. Drummond having attributed her amusement to her sense of humour, Mr. Bodkin read the following letter, which was addressed to her, adding that if Mrs. Drummond would apply her mind to it, other senses of hers might be called into play:—

"Dear Madam,—I am very sorry that I have been unable to reply to your letter before now, but as I have only just returned from a short stay at Hove, I did not get your letter till yesterday. With regard to the proposal you make therein, it must be obvious that the sum you mention is really insignificant, compared with the splendid result to our cause if the job comes off all right. . . . It will cost not less than £20, besides two men. . . . I fear the dockyard police would suspect a lady visitor, and so I propose to be the brains this time and not the hands. At any rate, the damage caused would not be less than £20,000, and I therefore trust that the committee will approve of the amount I previously mentioned."

Threat to Subscribers

Referring to the cheques found at Kingsway House, counsel remarked that the legal position of those people who had given cheques would be very carefully considered. Upon Mrs. Sanders was found a letter, which she attempted to destroy, and which showed that just about the time of the great window-smashing campaign, £7,000 of the Union's money was drawn out by cheque and went to a lady. On March 8, 1912, a number of foreign bonds were purchased, and the Insurance Offices where policies existed were left to pay for the damage of the windows. This letter was signed by Mr. A. E. W. Marshall, the solicitor for the Union. The documents also proved (he added) that payments had been made to Miss Olive Wharry, who set fire to the pavilion at Kew. One of those who suffered enormous damage, as a consequence, said counsel, called upon Miss Kerr, who took full responsibility on behalf of the Union, and that conversation would be given in evidence later on. In Miss Kerr's possession was also found the torn up licence upon which Mrs. Pankhurst was released from Holloway Gaol a week or two ago.

"Thus on evidence which I have to some extent outlined," said counsel in conclusion, "it is submitted on those charges which I have mentioned that these defendants should be committed to the Central Criminal Court, in order that the opinion of the jury may be taken as to whether the have not been each of them leaders or subordinates engaged for a long time past in a dangerous criminal conspiracy against the property of the public in London and in all parts of the country."

THE EVIDENCE

Evidence was then called for the prosecution. Transcripts of the speeches made at the Albert Hall on October 17 were produced; also documents belonging to Miss Kerr, which included letters signed "C. P." A touch of colour was introduced by the production in court of "General" Drummond's cap, sash, and badge. Other documents relating to broken windows and burnt letters were also put in, and a letter which read:—

"Dear Mr. Clayton,—Thanks for your letter, also list of expenditure. As I understand you have additional work to do, I am sending you a further £5. Please find enclosed banknote for this amount. It will clear off the 28s., and leave you sufficient to carry on the splendid work you are continuing to do for us. Our appreciation and our warmest thanks,

"——, Financial Secretary."

The Question of Bail

The case was adjourned early in the afternoon until the following Thursday. Bail was granted to Miss Barrett, Miss Lake, and Miss Lennox; but refused in the case of the other defendants. This caused a scene in court, Mrs. Drummond and Miss Kenney announcing before they were removed from the dock that they would all hunger-strike in prison.

"You have no right to punish us yet," said Mrs. Drummond; "we have not been found guilty yet. We have never broken our word to you; our word is a word of honour."

Mr. Drew's Case Withdrawn

On the suggestion of Mr. Bodkin, the proceedings against Mr. Drew were withdrawn on his undertaking not to print or publish, or assist in printing or publishing, any matter relating to the militant movement. Mr. Drew gave the desired undertaking, and was accordingly bound over.

"And I shall very distinctly draw attention to the fact," added counsel, "that a paper called the *Daily Herald* is also printed by this Victoria House Printing Company, Limited, and that that paper has contained some matter in regard to this prosecution and the proceedings before you which it was absolutely not right for them to have written or have published. This undertaking is intended to cover Mr. Drew, so far as being any party in the publication of the *Daily Herald* is concerned, so long as that paper continues to deal with this question of the Suffragettes and the W.S.P.U., in the way of advocating it or of supporting it, in the knowledge which is now obvious that it is an organisation for the carrying on of crime in order to bring pressure upon the Government."

FREE SPEECH

The following resolution was passed at a meeting held by the Fabian Society on May 2:—"That this meeting of the Fabian Society protests against the degradation of British public life involved in the denial of free speech, the suppression of newspapers without definite charge, and the arrest of persons on the ground that they may commit a crime."

◆

TAX RESISTANCE

Mrs. Darent Harrison's house, which she had barricaded against the tax-collector, was broken into last week and her goods seized in default of payment of taxes. She was threatened with a £50 penalty if wilful obstruction were offered, to which she replied that she would resist physical force with spiritual force, and would continue the fight while life lasted. The tax-collector said he was not a hired bully, and would sooner resign than use violence.

COMING EVENTS

The Actresses' Franchise League announce a lecture for to-day (Friday) at their offices at 5 p.m., when Mrs. A. J. Webbe will speak on "Votes and the Social Evil."

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage announce a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, May 11, at 12 noon. Speakers: Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan, and others. The Society will hold an Office At Home on May 13, at 3 p.m., at which Mr. G. E. O'Dell will speak on "Women's Suffrage and Afterwards."

The Oxford University Branch of the Men's Political Union will hold a meeting at Manchester College on Wednesday, May 14, at 8.15 p.m. Professor Gilbert Murray will speak on "The Value of Constitutional Methods" (a criticism of militancy). Mr. Gerald Gould will open the discussion.

◆

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters' Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 "
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 "
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 "
Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 "
Miss Evelyn Manesta	" "	5 "
Mrs. Drummond	April 30	Remanded
Miss Kerr	" "	"
Mrs. Sanders	" "	"
Miss Annie Kenney	May 1	"
Mr. E. G. Clayton	" "	"
Miss Eliza Stone	" "	1 month
Mrs. Jennie Baines	May 5	"
Miss Marie Neil	" "	21 days
Miss May Simpson	" "	1 month
Miss Nina Boyle	May 6	14 days
Miss Anna Munro	" "	"

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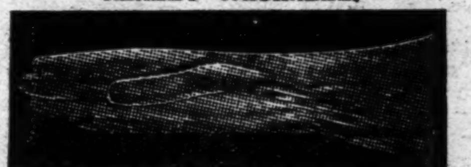

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